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# A SURVEY OF RACE RELATIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA

1974

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RELATIONS

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## POLITICAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENTS

## THE WHITE POPULATION GROUP

## SESSIONS OF PARLIAMENT AND OF PROVINCIAL COUNCILS

The fifth session of the Fourth Parliament of the Republic of S.A. lasted from 1 to 27 February, inclusive. Parliament was then prorogued to allow preparations to be made for a general election, held on 24 April. The Fifth Parliament opened its proceedings on 2 August and rose on 1 November.

In terms of Proclamation 22/1974, provincial councils were dissolved with effect from 28 February, in order that the provincial elections might be held on the same day as the general election.<sup>1</sup>

## RACIAL POLICIES OF POLITICAL PARTIES CONTESTING THE GENERAL ELECTION

## NATIONAL PARTY

The Nationalists' plan for the ultimate future of Southern Africa (including the present Republic and neighbouring states) is a power bloc consisting of a free association of sovereign states, politically independent, but economically inter-dependent.<sup>2</sup>

The National Party is encouraging the development within the Republic of separate "nations": a White, a Coloured, an Indian, and nine or ten distinctive African nations. Each of the African nations has been or is to be allocated a homeland which may eventually possibly become an independent state. Apart from the diminutive Basotho homeland, the only one of these that constitutes a fairly compact geographical area is the Transkei, but plans are in hand to consolidate to a limited degree the scattered areas forming the others by buying for African occupation the remainder of the land promised to them in 1936 but not yet acquired, and by exchanging certain White-owned for African-owned land. Legislative Assemblies are being created in the various homelands, and being granted increasing powers of control of certain governmental services within their areas of jurisdiction.

Africans in the towns and White farming areas (constituting a *de facto*, 53.6 per cent of the total number in 1970) will continue to exercise political rights only in the homelands allocated to members of their own ethnic groups, and it is solely in these areas

<sup>1</sup>Enabling legislation was passed in 1973. See 1973 Survey, page 15.  
<sup>2</sup>Prime Minister, Assembly 4 February, Hansard I cols. 54-9.

that they are promised unrestricted rights to economic and social advancement.

The rest of the country (about 87 per cent of the whole) is permanently urbanized Africans should have the right to acquire facilities for the various racial groups should be retained. But remain one state, under White control. The Coloured and Asianfreehold title to land in their own residential areas, should be afforded a greater sense of security, and should have improved standards of living, educational facilities, and training for Indian Council, and local government bodies, however, they are employment. Through the Coloured Persons' Representative Council, the S.A. standards of living, educational facilities, and training for Indian Council, and local government bodies, however, they are employment. being granted self-government in such matters as education welfare services, and urban affairs, and an extension of powers in the "Mahlabatini Declaration", and repercussions promised.

#### UNITED PARTY

##### Policy for the political future of the country

The United Party, led by Sir De Villiers Graaff, M.P., has signed a declaration of faith, which stated that "the situation of South Africa in the world scene as well as internal community relations requires, in our view, an acceptance of certain fundamental concepts for the economic, social, and constitutional development of our country". Certain principles were enunciated, and on the basis of which the two men believed that all the people of S.A. could co-operate. Briefly, these principles were that change in S.A. must be brought about by peaceful means. All the people should be afforded the opportunity for material and educational advancement. A consultative council representative of all groups should be established to draw up constitutional proposals which would, *inter alia*, protect the identity and culture of the various groups, and include a Bill of Rights to safeguard the fundamental concepts of natural justice. The federal concept appeared to provide the best framework on which to seek a constitutional solution.

A federal assembly would be created, consisting of three would, *inter alia*, protect the identity and culture of the various representatives of each legislative assembly together with 12 groups, and include a Bill of Rights to safeguard the fundamental members elected on the basis of a formula reflecting the concepts of natural justice. The federal concept appeared to contribution of each community to the country's gross domestic product. Parliament would, in its discretion, gradually delegate certain powers, concerning matters of common interest, to the federal assembly. This body would not be able to interfere in the homeland leaders attended the Council meeting of the S.A. Institute of Race Relations, held in Cape Town. The Chief Ministers of Lebowa, BophuthaTswana, and Gazankulu, Mr. Cedric N. Phatudi, Chief Lucas Mangope, and Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi, told the Press<sup>3</sup> that they fully supported the declaration.

The U.P. has in the past been committed "to White leadership in the interests of all of our people and as an instrument to bring about a sharing of power and responsibility among all population groups". The existing parliament would be responsible through consultation and negotiation, for the formation of legislative assemblies and the federal assembly, and for defining the powers of these bodies. It would, for some time at any rate, continue to act as the regulating power to ensure that the other bodies were functioning in accordance with the constitution, and that minorities were satisfied that their rights were safe. (As described later, there has in recent months been internal debate on the future rôle of the Coloured people and on the question as to whether the White parliament should eventually phase itself out in favour of the federal assembly.)

The Party believes that separate social and residential facilities for the various racial groups should be retained. But permanently urbanized Africans should have the right to acquire freehold title to land in their own residential areas, should be afforded a greater sense of security, and should have improved standards of living, educational facilities, and training for employment. Through the Coloured Persons' Representative Council, the S.A. standards of living, educational facilities, and training for Indian Council, and local government bodies, however, they are employment. being granted self-government in such matters as education welfare services, and urban affairs, and an extension of powers in the "Mahlabatini Declaration", and repercussions promised.

On 4 January Mr. Harry Schwarz, the leader of the U.P. in the Transvaal, had discussions at Mahlabatini in Natal with Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, the Chief Executive Councillor of KwaZulu. Both men were acting in their personal capacities. They jointly signed a declaration of faith, which stated that "the situation of South Africa in the world scene as well as internal community relations requires, in our view, an acceptance of certain fundamental concepts for the economic, social, and constitutional development of our country". Certain principles were enunciated, and on the basis of which the two men believed that all the people of S.A. could co-operate.

Briefly, these principles were that change in S.A. must be brought about by peaceful means. All the people should be afforded the opportunity for material and educational advancement. A consultative council representative of all groups should be established to draw up constitutional proposals which would, *inter alia*, protect the identity and culture of the various groups, and include a Bill of Rights to safeguard the fundamental concepts of natural justice. The federal concept appeared to provide the best framework on which to seek a constitutional solution.

Shortly after this declaration was published, several of the homeland leaders attended the Council meeting of the S.A. Institute of Race Relations, held in Cape Town. The Chief Ministers of Lebowa, BophuthaTswana, and Gazankulu, Mr. Cedric N. Phatudi, Chief Lucas Mangope, and Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi, told the Press<sup>3</sup> that they fully supported the declaration.

There was, however, considerable criticism of Mr. Schwarz's action from within the U.P., notably from leading members of its establishment or "Old Guard". Leading Party members in Natal considered that they should have been consulted. Sir De Villiers had been on holiday at the time, but after acquainting himself with the facts stated<sup>4</sup> that the principles of the declaration were, in general, consistent with established U.P. policy. However, there were certain points that might be misinterpreted, for example the fact that, while various groups and individuals were promoting the

<sup>3</sup>e.g. *Cape Argus*, 17 January.  
<sup>4</sup>*Rand Daily Mail*, 24 January.

federal concept, there was as yet no agreement on the type of federation to be sought. Sir De Villiers went on to say, "Mr Schwarz has expressed his regret that I was not consulted prior to the publication of the declaration, and understands that I would not tolerate any invasion, however unintentional, of the scope or authority of my leadership. I will go into the question of the protocol governing Mr. Schwarz's visit to Chief Buthelezi in Natal." The Party's parliamentary caucus unanimously endorsed this statement.

#### Declaration of agreement signed with Mr. C. N. Phatudi

It was announced on 30 March that Mr. M. I. Mitchell chairman of the U.P. constitutional committee, and Mr. Schwarz had visited Mr. Phatudi, Chief Minister of Lebowa, at Seshego. After discussions a joint statement was issued endorsing the Mahlabatini Declaration, and following fairly similar lines. It was stated, *inter alia*, that all South Africans must be united to meet any external threats, subversion, or terrorism, and that the best way of uniting the people to meet such threats was to give them a real stake in the society which they were asked to defend.

Mr. Mitchell told the Press<sup>5</sup> that the meeting with Mr. Phatudi had been part of the consultations being conducted by the constitutional committee, of which Mr. Schwarz was a member. A number of the African, Coloured, and Indian leaders to whom the committee had spoken had not only wanted the discussions to remain confidential, but also the fact that they had met.

#### Nomination contests

In several constituencies there were bitter disputes over the nomination of U.P. candidates for the parliamentary election. Personal animosities and divisions between some members of the "establishment" and of the "reformist group" were evident, and prior to the elections there was a lack of unanimity on certain aspects of the future of the Party's federal policy.

#### PROGRESSIVE PARTY

The Progressive Party, led by Mr. Colin Eglin, bases its policy on the belief that South Africa is, and will remain, a multi-racial country whose citizens are interdependent. Its philosophy is that in any society, the individual human being is of paramount importance. Each citizen must be treated with equal dignity. Merit, and not skin colour, should be the measure of individual worth.

The Party opposes compulsory social integration, as well as compulsory segregation. Social relationships should be regulated by the conventions of society and the attitude of individuals.

<sup>5</sup> *Sunday Express*, 31 March; *Rand Daily Mail*, 1 April.

The Progressives consider that South Africa should become a federation of, largely, autonomous provinces, the provincial boundaries being redrawn to take into account demographic, economic, and other factors.

The constitution should be a rigid one that cannot be altered by an engineered majority, with safeguards for the protection of minorities. A common roll franchise should be extended to all citizens who have passed, say, Standard VIII, or have a Standard VI qualification with the regular income of at least a semi-skilled worker. The Senate should be so elected that it would be able to reject legislation detrimental to any racial group.

There should be an entrenched Bill of Rights, guaranteeing to all freedom of speech, worship, and assembly; freedom from arbitrary arrest; equal access to courts of law; equal protection under the law; and the independence of the judiciary.

The Party stands for the repeal of all discriminatory laws and the provision of educational and economic opportunities to enable people of all racial groups to qualify as voters and to develop their potential skills for the benefit of the country as a whole.

#### HERSTIGTE NASIONALE PARTY

The Herstigte Nasionale Party, led by Dr. Albert Hertzog, stands for national unity around the core of Afrikanerdom. English-speakers are regarded as Afrikaners in the making. Afrikaans should be the national language.

International forces making for racial integration must be resisted. The party regards the maintenance of separate identities by the Whites and Blacks as paramount; the latter must not be given expectations of social equality with Whites.

Economic forces militating against separate development must be countered to ensure peaceful progress in which the separate development of the White and Black groups would be strengthened. Industrialization should be checked if it is overstimulated by foreign capital and labour.

#### DEMOCRATIC PARTY

The Democratic Party, led by Mr. Theo Gerdener, was formed in 1973. It advocates a "twin-stream" policy. In the one stream would be the Whites, Coloured, and Indians. All basic rights at present enjoyed by the Whites would be extended gradually to these others. In the course of time, all public facilities would be shared, and a state would emerge in which all citizens had full equality, petty discrimination based on colour being eliminated.

The borders of the homelands should be redrawn to consolidate these areas into large blocks which could become viable, completely independent, states. There would be no mass removals of people: Whites could remain in the new African areas

if they so wished. Large urban African townships might be converted into autonomous city states or into integrated parts of homelands, or else urban Africans could form a third bloc of the peoples of South Africa.

The mixed White, Coloured, and Indian areas, together with the independent African states, the autonomous city states, and, possibly, neighbouring states would be linked in a confederation, economically inter-dependent but politically independent.

**SMALLER GROUPS**

A Social Democratic Party, which nominated one candidate for the elections, stood for a socialistic economic policy with a fair distribution of wealth; free and compulsory education for all; entrenchment of personal rights; a national health and welfare scheme; and the abolition of censorship.

An Alliance for Radical Change, which also nominated one candidate, maintained that all the people of S.A. should have the vote, and help to decide their future.

**RESULTS OF THE ELECTIONS**

**House of Assembly**

The general elections of members of the House of Assembly and of provincial councils were held on 24 April. The main issue that the U.P. and P.P. placed before the electorate was the need for a more effective opposition. The N.P. stressed the need for firm government. Two U.P. parliamentary candidates, one from the Cape and the other from S.W.A., died shortly before the election date: it was announced that by-elections would be held later. Forty-three of the 171 seats were uncontested, 30 of these going to the N.P. and 13 to the U.P.

The numbers of seats obtained by the various parties (including the two constituencies where polling was deferred) were as set out in the table that follows. The figures in brackets represent the results of the previous general election, in 1970.

|                     | N.P.      | U.P.    | P.P.  | Totals    |
|---------------------|-----------|---------|-------|-----------|
| Transvaal . . . . . | 61 (58)   | 11 (14) | 4 (1) | 76 (73)   |
| Cape . . . . .      | 37 (36)   | 15 (18) | 3 (-) | 55 (54)   |
| Natal . . . . .     | 5 (3)     | 15 (15) | - (-) | 20 (18)   |
| O.F.S. . . . .      | 14 (15)   | - (-)   | - (-) | 14 (15)   |
| S.W.A. . . . .      | 6 (6)     | - (-)   | - (-) | 6 (6)     |
|                     | 123 (118) | 41 (47) | 7 (1) | 171 (166) |

The Democratic and Herstigte Nasionale Parties, the small parties, and the Independents did not succeed in gaining representation. The Democratic Party, however, had a comparatively high number of votes per candidate. The U.P. gained one seat from the N.P. but lost two to the N.P. and six to the P.P. The leaders of all three of these parties were returned to Parliament: Mr. B. J. Vorster, Sir De Villiers Graaff, and Mr. C. W. Eglin respectively. There was a small swing from the N.P. to the H.N.P.

All of the five prominent "reformist" U.P. candidates in the Transvaal, led by Mr. Harry Schwarz, gained seats, but several of the more conservative former U.P. members were defeated, including Mr. Radelyffe Cadman, the party leader in Natal.

Further particulars relating to the elections, excluding the two seats where polling was deferred, are:

|                           | No. of seats contested | Average no. of votes per seat contested | Percentage of total vote <sup>1</sup> |
|---------------------------|------------------------|---|---------------------------------------|
| National Party            | 136                    | 4 695                                   | 56.2                                  |
| United Party              | 111                    | 3 278                                   | 32.0                                  |
| Progressive Party         | 22                     | 3 290                                   | 6.4                                   |
| Herstigte Nasionale Party | 50                     | 884                                     | 3.9                                   |
| Democratic Party          | 8                      | 1 592                                   | 1.1                                   |
| Others and independents   | 11                     | 434                                     | 0.4                                   |

A Natal member of the U.P. gave up his seat to allow Mr. Radelyffe Cadman to contest it. The latter was opposed by Mr. Theo J. A. Gerdener, leader of the Democratic Party. Mr. Cadman won by 30 votes in a 51.2 per cent poll. (The constituency concerned, Umhlatuzana, had previously been a safe U.P. seat, the U.P. candidate being opposed only by an independent in the April elections three months earlier, and being returned with a 4 246 majority.)

**Provincial Councils**

The results of the provincial elections were as follows (the results of the 1970 elections being shown in brackets):

|           | N.P.      | U.P.    | P.P.  | Total     |
|-----------|-----------|---------|-------|-----------|
| Transvaal | 61 (54)   | 13 (19) | 2 (-) | 76 (73)   |
| Cape      | 37 (36)   | 17 (18) | 1 (-) | 55 (54)   |
| Natal     | 4 (3)     | 16 (22) | -     | 20 (25)   |
| O.F.S.    | 28 (25)   | -       | -     | 28 (25)   |
| S.W.A.    | 18 (18)   | -       | -     | 18 (18)   |
|           | 148 (136) | 46 (59) | 3 (-) | 197 (195) |

<sup>1</sup> In the event, a by-election was unnecessary in the S.W.A. constituency, as only the N.P. nominated candidate.

<sup>2</sup> In its issue of 3 May the *South African Digest* gave slightly different figures for the percentage of total votes cast gained by the various parties, viz: N.P. 57 (2), U.P. 32.7, P.O. 5.3, H.N.P. 3.6, D.P. 0.9, others and independents 0.4.

Again, the smaller parties gained no representation. Seventy-eight of the seats were uncontested, 61 of these going to the N.P. and 17 to the U.P.

### The Senate

The Senate was dissolved with effect from 11 May, new elections being held on 30 May. This body consists of:

- ten members nominated by the State President, half of these (one from each province and one from S.W.A.) being selected mainly on the grounds of their thorough acquaintance with the reasonable wants and wishes of Coloured people;
- persons from each of the four provinces, elected by M.P.'s and M.P.C.'s from the province concerned sitting in joint session and using the system of proportional representation. To determine the number of senators, the number of M.P.'s and M.P.C.'s from the province is divided by ten; but there must be a minimum of eight senators per province;
- two members elected by the M.P.'s and Members of the Legislative Assembly in S.W.A.

The composition of the new Senate was:

|                   | N.P.  | U.P.  | Total |
|-------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| Nominated members | 10    | —     | 10    |
| Elected members:  |       |       |       |
| Transvaal         | 13    | 3     | 16    |
| Cape              | 8     | 3     | 11    |
| Natal             | 2     | 6     | 8     |
| O.F.S.            | 8     | —     | 8     |
| S.W.A.            | 2     | —     | 2     |
|                   | <hr/> | <hr/> | <hr/> |
|                   | 43    | 12    | 55    |

### PARTY POLITICAL EVENTS SINCE THE ELECTIONS

#### National Party

There has, in recent months, been a growing acceptance by National Party leaders and others of the use of the term "Black" instead of "Bantu" or "African". (In contrast, certain newspapers and organizations including the Institute of Race Relations, and many people of colour, employ the term "Black" as a collective term to include Coloured, Asians, and Africans.)

Since the elections, divisions of opinion within the National Party have become more evident than they previously were. As indicated later, among the issues concerned have been foreign affairs, and the political future of the Coloured people in S.A. Other differences, which have been aired by academics and in the Afrikaner Press, have been between advocates of a pragmatic

adjustment to developing events and circumstances in the common area of S.A.<sup>3</sup>, on the one hand, and, on the other, traditionalists who believe that any concessions whatsoever made along the racial line will eventually and inevitably lead to complete racial integration, and must be resisted. There has been argument, for example, about the integration of Black workers into the common economy, the preservation of "petty apartheid", and on the question as to whether S.A. sporting teams should be chosen on merit, irrespective of race.

Referring to the Security Council debate in October, when the United States, Britain, and France exercised their vetos to prevent S.A.'s expulsion from the UN (described later), the Prime Minister urged, in a speech made in Nigel on 5 November, that political commentators should give S.A. "a chance of about six months". They would be surprised, he said, at where the country would stand in six to twelve months' time.

#### United Party

During June there were further confrontations in the Cape between certain members of the "establishment" and the "reformist group", but it was reported<sup>4</sup> that reconciliation was achieved after the appointment of a temporary ad hoc central disciplinary committee. The parliamentary caucus reaffirmed its loyalty to and confidence in the party leader. There was renewed dissension in the latter part of the year, however, following a decision by the Cape head committee to expel five prominent reformist party members.

Mr. Harry Schwarz and Mr. R. E. Enthoven visited Chief Patrick Mpephu, Chief Minister of Venda, and a joint statement on points of agreement was issued, in similar terms to the joint statement that was published after the meeting with Dr. Phatudi.<sup>5</sup>

Shortly afterwards, on 27 July, Dr. Phatudi, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of KwaZulu, Chief Lucas Mangope of BophuthaTswana, Professor H. Ntsanwisi of Gazankulu, and a representative of Mr. Lennox Sebe of the Ciskei accepted invitations that had been sent to all homeland leaders to visit Johannesburg for discussions with Sir De Villiers Graaff, members of the U.P. constitutional committee, and other prominent party members. A communiqué was issued in which it was stated that the conference had agreed that a federal system could provide the best means of advancing common interest without fear of one group dominating another. A proviso was added to the effect that such a system must arise from consultation between all concerned, and be based on the recognition of equal opportunity and the right to human dignity. Particular attention was given to the position of

<sup>3</sup> i.e. the whole of the Republic outside the African homelands.

<sup>4</sup> *Rand Daily Mail*, 20 and 21 June.

<sup>5</sup> Mr. Phatudi was awarded an Hon. Doctorate by the University of the North

urban Africans, and to the need to guarantee an adequate living wage to all who contributed their labour and to provide training facilities to enable workers to improve their productivity. It was agreed that further meetings would be convened.

Speaking on behalf of his fellow homeland leaders at a banquet held that evening, Chief Buthelezi is reported<sup>6</sup> to have said, "It is ridiculous that even last year, consultations such as we have just had . . . were considered a risky business . . . We did not come here in the hope that we would solve all the problems of this land, and we have not yet done so. But I do think that a lot of ground was covered to-day in creating an understanding as to how the Black man sees the problems of this land."

A meeting of the U.P. parliamentary caucus held on 20 June approved certain suggestions that had been made by Sir De Villiers during a by-election campaign, and elaborated on these. According to reports<sup>7</sup> it was agreed that party policy should aim at the removal, within the federal framework, of discrimination on the basis of colour alone, while allowing for personal choice. The provisions of the Immorality Act should be re-examined. Job reservation was rejected. Africans should have the right to own and operate industrial and commercial enterprises in the areas where they lived. The aims and aspirations of the Coloured people should be identified with those of the Whites.

Speaking in the House of Assembly on 5 August<sup>8</sup>, Sir De Villiers moved "That this House censures the Government for its failure timeously to amend and adapt its policies to meet the challenges of a changing world". In the course of his speech he dealt with several developments of and changes in U.P. policy.

The Coloured people, he said, had totally rejected separate development.<sup>9</sup> They had become disillusioned and alienated. Change was urgent. The U.P. would work towards bringing the White and Coloured groups closer together. In terms of U.P. policy there was freedom, "if it is the eventual desire of both the White and the Coloured communities, to merge their rights and interests to the extent that both communities agree and to share power within a single legislative assembly".

Government policy was even more unacceptable to the urban African, who was the flashpoint in South African race relations. Homeland leaders co-operated with the Government only because they had no other alternative, Sir De Villiers maintained.

The U.P. stood for free and compulsory schooling for all races, he said. It rejected job reservation, and accepted the logical consequence that some Whites might have to work under the direction of Blacks (something that was already happening). African workers were a permanent, integrated part of the S.A.

<sup>6</sup> *Sunday Times*, 28 July.

<sup>7</sup> e.g. *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 June.

<sup>8</sup> Hansard I cols. 27-50.

<sup>9</sup> Developments that had occurred in the Coloured Persons' Representative Council are described later.

economic machinery. The U.P. would recognize them as "employees" and give them the full protection of the Industrial Conciliation Act. That meant the recognition of African trade unions, or racially mixed unions including Africans: in general the U.P. did not favour separate unions because experience elsewhere in Africa had shown that these became vulnerable to political agitators: but such organizational matters could safely be left in the hands of the existing trade union movement.<sup>10</sup>

Sir De Villiers was severely critical of the Government's handling of racial affairs in South West Africa and of its negotiations with the United Nations.

When replying to the debate on his motion, on 9 August<sup>11</sup>, Sir De Villiers supported remarks made earlier by Mr. M. L. Mitchell, M.P.,<sup>12</sup> saying that it might well happen, in terms of the U.P. federal policy, that this system would eventually prove itself to all population groups, including the Whites. The White Parliament might reach a stage where it believed that it was *functus officio*, and that there was no point in its continuing to insist on its dominance. The federal assembly envisaged by the U.P. would not be a super parliament: its powers would be such that no group would dominate another.

Speaking in the Assembly on 26 October, Sir De Villiers urged the Government to create a multi-racial consultative body. (Hansard 12 cols. 6541-2.)

### Progressive Party

During the weeks following the general election and preceding the opening of Parliament P.P. leaders travelled widely to meet leading Black personalities in S.A. and other African territories. Mrs. Helen Suzman had discussions with prominent Africans in a number of urban areas. Three of the other M.P.'s Mr. Colin W. Eglin (the Party leader), Mr. Rupert J. Lorimer, and Professor F. van Zyl Slabbert, individually met homeland leaders including Professor H. Ntsanwisi, Dr. Cedric Phatudi, Chief Lucas Mangope, Mr. Lennox Sebe, and Chief George Matanzima (then Acting Chief Minister of the Transkei). Three of these homeland leaders together with three prominent Coloured and Indian personalities of Johannesburg accepted invitations to attend the P.P.'s Transvaal congress. This congress approved a declaration that S.A. would live in peace only when all races enjoyed equal opportunity, and that all should be entitled to a meaningful say in the bodies that governed their lives.<sup>13</sup>

Besides this, Mrs. Suzman and Mr. Eglin met Sir Seretse Khama of Botswana and his Vice-President; Mr. Eglin had

<sup>10</sup> Sir De Villiers used the word "Black" to signify "Africans", but the latter term is substituted here to avoid confusion. See page 8.

<sup>11</sup> Hansard I cols. 451-2.

<sup>12</sup> Col 80.

<sup>13</sup> *Star*, 27 July.

discussions with Chief Leabua Jonathan of Lesotho and other Cabinet Ministers there; and Mrs. Suzman and Mr. Ray Swart (the national chairman of the P.P.) visited the Prime Minister of Swaziland, Prince Makhosini Dlamini, and some of his Ministers. Mr. Rupert Lorimer went to Rhodesia, where he met members of the Cabinet and also the A.N.C. president, Bishop Abel Muzorewa.

Mr. Eglin and Professor Van Zyl Slabbert then toured Zambia, Malawi, Tanzania, Kenya, and Nigeria, having discussions with the heads of state in these countries. Visits were paid, too to Ghana and Senegal. After their return Mr. Eglin is reported<sup>14</sup> to have said that the leaders of all the states visited had emphasized that they were not opposed to Whites or to South Africa *per se*, but were strongly opposed to the system of race discrimination. All accepted the philosophy of the Lusaka Manifesto.<sup>15</sup> They were aware of the fears of minority groups. The leaders were not attempting to impose solutions on S.A., nor to set a timetable for change. But there could be no dialogue between them and S.A. until the S.A. Government gave some genuine indication of a shift away from racial discrimination.

Speaking in the Assembly on 6 August<sup>16</sup> during the motion of censure, Mr. Eglin accused the Government of having no policy to resolve the conflicts and tensions in the S.A. society. Indeed, he said, the Government appeared to be heading straight for increased conflict and tension. During the Budget debate,<sup>17</sup> Mr. Eglin talked of South Africa's isolation from the rest of the continent and of impressions that members of the P.P. had gained during their visits to various states. Leaders of these states, he said, saw in enforced apartheid the same rejection of themselves as individuals as existed in a colonial era. But this attitude should not be equated with communism. He believed that the Republic should again fashion a positive strategy towards Africa.

#### VERLIGTE ACTION

The formation of the group called Verligte Action was described on page 12 of last year's *Survey*. The object was to create an action group on an across-the-party basis in order to mobilise enlightened opinion to facilitate change.

During March the national chairman, Professor Willem A. Joubert, is reported<sup>18</sup> to have associated himself openly with a United Party candidate in the elections. The director resigned his position in order to support the U.P. Thereupon two founder members, Dr. C. J. Alant and Professor Franz Maritz, resigned from the movement in protest.

<sup>14</sup> *Rand Daily Mail*, 27 July; *Sunday Times*, 28 July.

<sup>15</sup> See 1969 *Survey*, page 78.

<sup>16</sup> Hansard 1 col. 135 *et seq.*

<sup>17</sup> Assembly, 22 August, Hansard 3 cols. 1251 - 60.

<sup>18</sup> *Star*, 6 March; *Sunday Express*, 17 March.

A new multi-racial executive committee was elected at a special meeting, under the acting national chairmanship of Mr. Johan Kriegler. This committee issued a Press statement to the effect that Verligte Action as such would continue its non-involvement in party politics, although its members could belong to various political parties. The movement would pursue its ideal of a society in which the dignity of all people would be recognized.

## THE COLOURED POPULATION GROUP

### Views of the major Coloured political parties as expressed early in the year

The Federal Party's policy has been to co-operate with the Government in matters that members consider will promote the interests of their people, but to press for eventual equality with Whites. During April, however, the party's Transvaal congress took matters further. Congress declared<sup>1</sup> that the Coloured Representative Council<sup>2</sup> (CRC) would never satisfy the aspirations of the Coloured people, and should be abolished. The only logical alternative to this Council was direct representation in Parliament by Coloured M.P.s.

The Government-appointed chairman of the CRC's Executive Committee and leader of the Federal Party, Mr. Tom Swartz, is reported to have commented that when he met the Prime Minister during 1973 he had conveyed to him a resolution of the Council calling for full citizenship for the Coloured people. The resolutions of the party's Transvaal congress were a spelling-out of the Federal Party's attitude, but would not become formal party policy unless and until they were endorsed by the party's national congress, he added.

Following a national congress of the Labour Party held later in April its leader, Mr. Sonny Leon, said that his party would settle for nothing less than total and direct representation of Coloured people in Parliament.<sup>3</sup>

### Proceedings of the Session of the CRC held in July

As mentioned in previous issues of this *Survey*, in the 1969 CRC elections the Labour Party won a majority of the 40 elected seats. However, the 20 members nominated by the Government were Federal Party members or supporters, giving this party a majority in the Council. Early in 1974 the strength of the parties represented in the CRC was F.P. 30, L.P. 26, and others and independants 4.

<sup>1</sup> *Rand Daily Mail*, 8 April, and other Press reports.

<sup>2</sup> The official name of this body, not now often used in practice, is the 'Coloured Persons' Representative Council.

<sup>3</sup> *Rand Daily Mail*, 17 April.



At the commencement of the session of the CRC held during July, Mr. Sonny Leon introduced a motion to the effect that the Council had no confidence in the policy of separate development and all institutions established under this policy, including the CRC itself. The motion called for direct representation for Coloured people in Parliament and in all the councils of the nation, voting on the common roll, as a prelude to the enfranchisement of all South Africans. Mr. Leon commented that the purpose of the Labour Party in serving on the CRC was to expose the ineffectuality of this Council. Speaking in support of the motion the party's deputy leader, Mr. David Curry, warned White South Africa that the question of full citizenship for the Coloured people would be pursued continuously.<sup>4</sup>

An amendment was moved by Mr. Jac A. Rabie, deputy-chairman of the CRC's Executive and Transvaal leader of the Federal Party. It was to the effect that the separate institutions set up by the Government should be retained until Coloured people, on a separate voter's roll, obtained direct representation in Parliament. He would like to see 60 Coloured M.P.'s and 60 Coloured M.P.C.'s., he said, who would together form an electoral college to elect Coloured representatives to the Senate. He saw the recommendations as a first step towards proportional representation for Coloured people. The most practicable time to make the change would be in 1979, when the CRC was to become a fully elected body. Mr. Rabie urged that it was important to keep the Council functioning until then, as it at least gave Coloured people a place to voice their grievances, and it kept the Coloured Community politically organized.<sup>5</sup>

Mr. Tom Swartz is reported<sup>6</sup> to have stated that he condemned separate development and opposed discrimination. Nevertheless there had been some progress under the system, for example in the field of education. Coloured people had the right to ask for increased political power, but their economic position was even more important. He had decided not to support Mr. Rabie's amendment, and also not to vote against the Labour Party's motion. At the conclusion of the debate, Mr. Swartz abstained from voting and left the Council chamber.

Several other Federal Party members abstained from voting or crossed the floor, with the result that the Labour Party's motion was carried by 29 votes to 25.

In a Press interview,<sup>7</sup> Mr. Leon then called for the immediate resignation of the Council's executive committee and for an urgent demand to be made to the Government for full political rights for Coloured people. Mr. Swartz announced<sup>8</sup> that his

<sup>4</sup> *Rand Daily Mail*, 23 July; *Star*, 25 July.  
<sup>5</sup> *Star*, 23 and 25 July.  
<sup>6</sup> *Star*, 24 July.  
<sup>7</sup> *Rand Daily Mail*, 25 July.  
<sup>8</sup> *Star*, 25 July.

executive would ask for a meeting with the Prime Minister and the Minister of Coloured Relations as soon as possible. (As decided in 1971, the executive committee, together with other Council members who may be invited, constitutes a liaison committee between the Council and the Government.) But Mr. Leon replied<sup>9</sup> that his party, which had secured a majority vote, should choose the composition of a delegation to the Government. The liaison committee, as constituted, had failed to present the case of the Coloured people, he added. (The Minister of Coloured Relations commented<sup>10</sup> that, in the past, the Labour Party had declined to participate in meetings with Government representatives, including the meeting at which the constitution of the liaison committee was discussed.)

In the Council on 26 June Mr. Swartz moved the adoption of a part appropriation budget. (The main budget could not be introduced until after Parliament had voted the necessary funds.) Mr. Leon opposed the motion, describing the CRC budget as part of the Government's discriminatory policy. After a lengthy debate, during which there were constant interjections and altercations, Mr. Swartz's motion was defeated. He then moved that the Council be prorogued. Labour Party members shouted, "Abolish, not prorogue". The pandemonium made it impossible for proceedings to be continued, and the chairman adjourned the Council until after the weekend.<sup>11</sup>

It was announced that Mr. Swartz would make a formal request to the Council's Executive to approve the part appropriation budget. (In terms of the Coloured Persons' Representative Council Amendment Act, 1972, if the Council fails to appropriate moneys for the services it controls the Executive may do so, and this action will be deemed to have been taken by the Council. Should the Executive fail to appropriate moneys, the Minister of Coloured Relations may do so, and, again, his action will be deemed to have been a Council decision.)

On the following Monday, Mr. Swartz moved that in view of the vote of no confidence in separate development and the call for the abolition of the Council, this body should adjourn until it was prorogued. Mr. Leon stated that his party would not support a proroguing of the Council until "the people's business" had been dealt with, and moved an amendment that the Council should remain in session until it otherwise decided. This amendment was carried by 30 votes to 28. Mr. Swartz then led a walk-out of Federal Party members. He said that they would return only to listen to a statement from the Minister proroguing the Council.<sup>12</sup>

Such a statement was read at the commencement of the next

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, and *Rand Daily Mail*, 26 July.  
<sup>10</sup> *Star*, 25 July.  
<sup>11</sup> *Rand Daily Mail*, 27 July; *Sunday Express*, 28 July.  
<sup>12</sup> *Rand Daily Mail* and *Star*, 30 July.

day's proceedings. The Minister said in a Press statement<sup>13</sup> that he was taking this action at Mr. Swartz's request, since it appeared that a situation of stalemate had been reached in the functioning of the Council.

Mr. Leon declined a proposal by Mr. Swartz that a joint deputation should seek an interview with the Prime Minister. Instead, the Opposition parties sent a telegram to the Prime Minister, asking him as a matter of urgency to receive a delegation from among their ranks to discuss the crisis in the Council.

Mr. Leon revealed later<sup>14</sup> that the Prime Minister had sent for him, and, in the presence of the Minister of Coloured Relations and Mr. Swartz, had offered him the position of chairman of the CRC's Executive, should Mr. Swartz resign. Mr. Leon had replied that he held certain principles and would not "sell" his people.

All that was publicly announced at the time was that the Prime Minister had agreed to meet a delegation from the opposition parties in the CRC.

#### Opinions expressed by members of the Government

In the Assembly on 9 August, the Prime Minister said<sup>15</sup> that if there were shortcomings in the CRC or the liaison committee, these would have to be remedied. The Coloured leaders had themselves proposed the liaison in its existing form. He had said at the time that this form of liaison might have to be reviewed<sup>16</sup>, but thus far the Coloured people had not called for any other type of machinery.

At a congress of the National Party held in South West Africa while the CRC was in session the Minister of the Interior, Dr. Connie P. Mulder, stated that while his party was in power in the Republic the Coloured people would never be represented in Parliament, either directly or indirectly. The policy for the Coloured was parallel development, as distinct from separate development. Parallel lines would never meet even if they were "extended into infinity".<sup>17</sup> Dr. Mulder re-emphasized these remarks in the Assembly on 8 August,<sup>18</sup> and said that Coloured people would attain self-realization within the framework of multi-nationality, and not on the basis of integration.

Speaking in the Assembly on 23 August,<sup>19</sup> Mr. Piet S. Marais said that the voices of Brown people would increasingly be heard. Points of contact between White and Brown South Africans would have to be greatly augmented. Mr. Marais stated that among the

<sup>13</sup> *Rand Daily Mail*, 31 July.  
<sup>14</sup> *Star*, 11 September.  
<sup>15</sup> *Hansard* 1 cols. 424-7.  
<sup>16</sup> See 1971 *Survey*, page 16.  
<sup>17</sup> *Star*, 24 July.  
<sup>18</sup> *Hansard* 1 cols. 304-5.  
<sup>19</sup> *Hansard* 3 cols. 1300-1.

questions that would have to be faced was whether it was conceivable that a parliament for the Coloured, whatever form it took, would always be satisfied with a position subordinate to that of the White parliament.

#### Meeting of the Prime Minister and representatives of the Coloured opposition parties

On 19 August there was a four hour meeting between the Prime Minister, the Minister of and the Secretary for Coloured Relations, the Commissioner for Coloured Affairs, and the Secretary of the CRC, on the one hand, and, on the other, six members of the Labour Party and three cross-benchers, led by Mr. Sonny Leon.

Thereafter, the Prime Minister issued a Press statement.<sup>20</sup> The talks had been conducted in a friendly spirit, he said. He had said that he was not prepared to accept the CRC's motion calling for the abolition of the Council and direct representation of Coloured people in Parliament. He had no assurance that the motion to this effect was the expressed wish of the majority of Coloured people.

Mr. Vorster had defended Dr. Connie Mulder's stand on the political future of the Coloured, saying that the latter had merely stated Government policy as it still stood.

The granting of parliamentary representation to the Coloured people would lead to friction, the Prime Minister had maintained. In the past the parliamentary vote had been exploited by political parties for their own ends and not to the advantage of the Coloured. He believed that the future of the Coloured people lay in the use and development of the CRC with extended powers. He was not prepared to abolish the rights that had been granted to the Coloured community under this system. He believed that two parliaments could function in one land, and he foresaw a statutory body consisting of members of the White and of the Coloured parliaments.

The Prime Minister said that he would call another meeting to which members of all political parties in the CRC would be invited.

Mr. Leon, too, made statements to the Press<sup>21</sup>. The Labour Party would use the CRC elections to be held on 19 March 1975 to obtain a mandate from the people for full parliamentary representation, he said, and for the rejection of separate development and the CRC. The Labour Party would never cease campaigning for equal rights in all spheres. It would have to be accepted that, in the short term, nothing but parallel development in the political sphere could be expected from the present Government. Thus, his party's immediate programme would be to press for socio-economic parity, the priorities being social

<sup>20</sup> e.g. *Rand Daily Mail*, 20 August.  
<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 20, 21, and 23 August and 11 September.

conditions, housing, education, and employment opportunities. In the long term, however, the Government and the Coloured people were on a collision course. The Labour Party had plans, which it would not yet disclose, for a new line of action following the CRC elections.

#### Offer made by Sir De Villiers Graaff

The Prime Minister was to meet an all-party Coloured delegation on 5 September. On the eve of this meeting Sir De Villiers Graaff announced <sup>22</sup> that the U.P. believed vigorously that its federal policy would solve S.A.'s race problems. But the U.P., being in opposition, was not in a position to implement its policies. The position was so urgent that a way must be found to establish means whereby the voice of the Coloured people might be heard in close and continuous consultation.

While the Nationalists maintained a unitary form of government there was no honest alternative to direct Coloured representation in Parliament, Sir De Villiers maintained. However, if the Prime Minister and the Coloured people could find some solution that satisfied the broad mass of these people, if they could reach consensus, the U.P. would give its full support. Its first concern would not be whether the suggested solution fitted in with the U.P. policy, but whether it was in the interests of South Africa.

#### Meeting of the Prime Minister and an all-party Coloured delegation

A four-hour discussion took place in Cape Town between the Prime Minister, the Minister and the Deputy Minister of Coloured Relations, and a 20-man delegation representing all the Coloured parties in the CRC and the independents.

According to a statement issued thereafter by the Department of Information,<sup>23</sup> "The Prime Minister put it clearly and unequivocally that he had never intentionally misled anyone, and therefore had to make it clear that Government policy, based on the mandate given to it by the electorate, did not allow for Coloureds to sit in Parliament . . . Only a congress could change the policy of parallel development. Should such a congress decide that current policy . . . be changed, the Government would do it immediately . . ."

"If Parliament rejected direct representation for Coloureds in that body, the political leaders of White and Brown must . . . gather regularly in future at a round table to discuss common problems.

"The Prime Minister indicated:

"(a) that there were specific areas in which the interests of the

<sup>22</sup> *Star*, 5 September.

<sup>23</sup> *Rand Daily Mail*, 7 September.

Coloureds were dominant, and should accordingly be managed entirely by the Coloured Representative Council:

"(b) that there were similarly specific areas in which the interests of the Whites were dominant, and had to be handled exclusively by the White Parliament;

"(c) that there were areas affecting the mutual interests of both White and Brown in which the Coloured should also have a say on matters affecting Coloured interests.

"Further consultation could take place on methods of jointly reasoning on matters of common interest. It could, for example, take place in a statutory consultative body . . . or a consultative Cabinet council with both Coloured and White members . . ."

"The Prime Minister indicated that the powers of the Coloured Representative Council could be jointly reviewed to make the body more meaningful. But it was of cardinal importance at this stage that Coloured leaders co-operated to make the CRC a truly positive instrument . . . (It) should not be condemned after five years, but should be adjusted, expanded, and given a chance to prove itself. Changes and adjustments could, however, not take place overnight . . . Furthermore, the position of the Indian population group also came into reckoning and should be considered in any decisions . . ."

"The Prime Minister indicated that the (Theron) Commission was making a thorough investigation of the broad field of Coloured development and its report should be mutually discussed by White as well as Brown leaders."

Mr. Tom Swartz is reported <sup>24</sup> to have said after the meeting that the Coloured were as far away as ever from their major aim—political and economic parity with the Whites. However, as a result of the discussions, the right of the Coloured people to be involved in various statutory bodies had been recognized, which was a definite gain. Contact and dialogue should be continued.

Mr. Leon took a different view.<sup>25</sup> The discussions, he said, amounted to complete rejection of the Coloured people. Nothing had been spelled out satisfactorily. "I am not interested in further window-dressing talks with the Prime Minister . . . We now have no alternative but to go to those people whose arms are open to us—the Black people of South Africa". A few weeks later, Mr. Leon rejected an invitation to meet the Minister of Coloured Relations for further discussions.

#### Term of office of the Coloured Representative Council

The Coloured Persons' Representative Council Act, 1964, provided that the Council should continue for five years from the date of its first meeting. The Second General Law Amendment Act,

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 6 and 7 September.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.* and *Star*, 6 September.

No. 94 of 1974, amended this by adding that the Council may at any time be dissolved by the State President by proclamation in the *Gazette*.

#### The Prime Minister's proposals for the future

When opening the final session of the CRC for the year, on 8 November, the Prime Minister again rejected Coloured representation in the White Parliament. Instead, he proposed that the CRC Executive should be developed to Cabinet status. The administration of Coloured Affairs should be reorganized into separate departments (or directorates), each under the authority of a member of the Cabinet.

The White Parliament would continue to be sovereign in S.A. Mr. Vorster stated, nevertheless Coloured people must be given a say in matters mutually affecting White and Coloured. The present liaison committee between the Government and the CRC might perhaps be transformed into a consultative Cabinet Council under the Prime Minister's chairmanship, consisting of the CRC Cabinet and an equal number of Ministers from the White Cabinet: this proposal would be a matter for mutual discussion.

Where it was held that the Act establishing the CRC was too restrictive and did not provide sufficiently for full self-determination, then the law should be changed, the Prime Minister continued. The matters of providing sufficient funds for the CRC and of whether the Coloured people received funds in relation to their contribution to S.A., were already being investigated.

The Government was willing to appoint Coloured people to bodies, councils, and commissions dealing with matters of mutual concern, such as the Group Areas Board, the Housing Commission, the Liquor Board, the Wage Board, the Road Safety Council, and the Race Classification Board.

#### Session of the Council held in November

At the commencement of a second session of the Council, on 1 November, Mr. Tom Swartz became seriously ill and had to retire.

The Labour Party moved that the direction for future development of the Coloured people, as indicated by the Prime Minister, be rejected. After a tie in voting the acting chairman exercised his casting vote against this motion.

The session ended in confusion, with the Labour Party threatening to take legal action to invalidate the final day's proceedings.

#### Budget of the Coloured Representative Council

According to the Republic's Estimates of Expenditure from Revenue Account for the year ending 31 March 1975<sup>26</sup>, the

<sup>26</sup> R.P. 2/1974, Vote 39, Pages 282 *et seq* and R.P. 6/1974.

following sums were allocated to the CRC from the vote of the Department of Coloured Relations and Rehoboth Affairs<sup>27</sup>:

|   | R            |
|---|--------------|
| Provisions for the CRC                                      | 1 32 993 000 |
| Salaries of 1 292 educational personnel seconded to the CRC | 6 475 000    |

Expenditure on the University of the Western Cape is not included in these figures.

#### The Theron Commission

The appointment of the (Theron) Commission of Inquiry into Matters Relating to the Coloured Population Group, and its terms of reference, were described on page 16 of last year's *Survey*. It has 14 White and 6 Coloured members. During the year under review the Commission has toured Coloured areas of the Republic, and has sent a detailed questionnaire to more than 4 000 Coloured people selected so that they included an effective cross-section of the population. *Inter alia*, the respondents were asked to choose between ten different political directions, to place in order of importance a range of restrictive measures, and to give their views on the most urgent problems to which the Government should give attention. The Commission's report may be completed during the second half of 1975.

#### THE INDIAN GROUP

Mr. J. N. Reddy succeeded the late Mr. A. M. Rajab as chairman of the executive committee of the S.A. Indian Council as constituted in terms of Act 31 of 1968. Mr. H. E. Joosub remained chairman of the Council itself until November, when he declined to stand for re-election.

The Council met on several occasions during the first half of the year under review. Representations were made to the Government in respect of various proclamations and proposals for group areas. The Council urged, *inter alia*, that the Cato Manor area of Durban be restored to Indians. Recommendations were made on appreciation contributions payable in terms of the Group Areas Act, the provision of amenities including school accommodation in Indian areas and the need for trading and industrial sites, especially at Chatsworth in Durban, the desirability of a review of income levels for economic and sub-economic housing, and the basis for subsidies payable in respect of school boarding fees and transport costs. Reports were made to the Council on free dental treatment to be made available to

<sup>27</sup> Since renamed the Department of Coloured, Rehoboth, and Nama Relations.

indigent school children in the larger towns of Natal, and on the poor response received to a new course of training young men as agricultural advisers. The Council made representations on the admission of wives and intended brides into the Republic, pressing for a relaxation of restrictions.

The life of this Council, which had advisory powers only, expired at the end of August. In terms of Proclamation R167 of September, the re-constituted Council would consist of 30 members<sup>1</sup>, half of them nominated and half elected by persons who on the election day were elected members of Indian local authorities, local affairs committees, management committees and consultative committees.<sup>2</sup> Ten members would be elected from Natal, four from the Transvaal, and one from the Cape. It was officially announced that the elections would take place on 1 November. Legislative and executive powers would gradually be delegated to this Council in respect of matters previously dealt with by the Minister of Indian Affairs (but not matters dealt with by this Minister in conjunction with other Cabinet Ministers). Such matters included education and community welfare.

Mr. Joosub said in a Press interview<sup>3</sup> that Indians would not be satisfied with such limited powers. They would eventually have to be given a real say in the running of the country. Indians were opposed, too, to the method of election that had been decided upon. A voters' roll should have been prepared. The Government had claimed, however, that the compilation of such a roll had not been possible because many Indians were still living outside proclaimed Indian group areas.

The Indian Management Committee of Lenasia (Johannesburg) decided that it would boycott the elections. It passed a resolution stating that the constitution of the Council and the method of elections were considered to be an affront to the dignity and the citizenship rights of the Indian people. Members of the Management Committee (which was fully-elected) served on this body, not out of faith in separate development, but out of deep concern for the welfare and well-being of people who were denied purposeful participation in government. They believed firmly in the inherent capacity of all the racial groups to contribute fully to the development of a multi-racial South Africa.<sup>4</sup>

## POLITICAL AFFAIRS OF AFRICANS

### Meeting of homeland leaders with the Prime Minister

The summit meeting of African homeland leaders that took place in Umtata on 8 November 1973 was described on page 164

<sup>1</sup> The previous Council had 26 nominated members.

<sup>2</sup> See 1973 Survey, page 126.

<sup>3</sup> *Rand Daily Mail*, 4 September.

<sup>4</sup> *Star*, 14 August.

last year's Survey. It was decided, *inter alia*, that the leaders would seek an interview with senior Cabinet Ministers.

The Prime Minister agreed to meet those leaders in Pretoria on 6 March. All eight homeland leaders attended. With the Prime Minister were the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development and his two Deputy Ministers. Following an eight-hour meeting, a joint statement was issued<sup>1</sup> in which it was reported that eight main matters had been discussed "in a spirit of goodwill". In each case the discussion was led by homeland leaders, who agreed that they had been given every opportunity to state their views frankly. The matters discussed were as described below.

1. The meaning of independence was raised. Homeland leaders were reminded that they were free to request independence talks. They emphasized that they were not happy with the allocation of land in terms of the 1936 Act; but the Prime Minister stated that he was bound by this Act and that the Government would not go beyond its provisions. Mr. Vorster forecast negotiations between the White and homeland governments and between homeland governments themselves on the exchange of White and Black areas. He emphasized that the first priority was to use the existing land to its fullest extent.
2. Homeland leaders pressed for the consolidation of their respective areas. They agreed that the present government had done more than had previous governments in this respect, and in the purchase of land. The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that the Government had decided to expedite land purchase and to make considerably more money available for this purpose.
3. There was a wide-ranging discussion on racial discrimination. While not pressing for the complete abolition of regulations ordering the day-to-day life of Black and White, the homeland leaders requested a reconsideration of existing rules and regulations. The Prime Minister agreed to consider memoranda which these leaders might submit to him from time to time, and he emphasized that regulations which had no bearing on the avoidance of racial friction ought to go.
4. The wage gap and the revenue and expenditure of homelands was discussed. It was agreed that the Prime Minister would appoint an expert, to be joined by an expert nominated by the homeland leaders, to investigate the allegation that the Bantu people in general and the homeland governments in particular were not getting a fair share of services from taxes paid directly and indirectly by the Bantu. The two men appointed would nominate a third expert to assist in the investigation.

<sup>1</sup> The full text was published in the *Rand Daily Mail* on 7 March. The terminology used in the statement is followed in the summary of it that is given here.

Homeland leaders requested the Government to devise ways and means of closing the gap in salaries paid to different racial groups in S.A. The Prime Minister reiterated that it was Government policy to decrease the gap.

5. On the questions of the position of the urban Bantu and Black businessmen in urban areas the conference agreed, in view of the shortage of time, that a second meeting be held later in the year and that a full day be set aside for discussion on this subject.
6. Homeland leaders proposed that the medium of instruction used in schools in the homelands should also be used in Bantu schools in the White areas. At the Prime Minister's suggestion, it was agreed that the Minister would look into the matter and report at the next meeting on the legal, constitutional, and educational aspects of the proposal.
7. The leaders recommended that pass and influx control regulations be phased out. It was felt that, in order to find a satisfactory solution to this "vexing problem", special machinery for negotiation should be set up consisting of the homeland leaders and the Government.
8. Homeland leaders considered that remaining government departments not yet under their control should be transferred to them in preparation for independence. The Prime Minister said that the matter was one for discussion between the Minister and the homeland concerned, and added that certain departments could be established only after independence.

It was decided that future discussions could be held either at the request of the homeland leaders or of the Prime Minister.

### Black People's Convention

The founding of the Black People's Convention, and its aims, were described on page 28 of the 1972 issue of this Survey. As mentioned on pages 22 and 82 of the 1973 issue, during that year the national organizer was sentenced to five years' imprisonment on being found guilty of participating in terrorist activities, and all the other office-bearers except for the then national president, Mrs. Winnifred Kgwane, were served by the Government with orders of restriction (banning orders).

The Convention's second annual congress was held at St. Peter's Seminary, Hammanskraal, during December 1973. Elections of office-bearers were conducted behind closed doors and the names of the new office-bearers were not announced. It was, however, reported that Mrs. Kgwane was not amongst them. A subsequent report<sup>2</sup> stated that the new national president was Mr. N. Farisani, a theological student at St. Peter's.

<sup>2</sup> Star, 19 August.

## COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO CERTAIN ORGANIZATIONS AND RELATED MATTERS

### THE BACKGROUND

The appointment of the (Schlebusch) Commission of Inquiry into Certain Organizations and its terms of reference were described on pages 24 *et seq* of last year's Survey. Briefly, the Commission was required to investigate the objects, organization, financing, and activities of the University Christian Movement, the National Union of S.A. Students (Nusas), the Christian Institute of Southern Africa, the S.A. Institute of Race Relations, and any related organizations, bodies, committees, or groups of persons. It was to inquire into the direct or indirect results of any activities it investigated, and into any related matter which came to its notice.

The procedure adopted at sittings of the Commission was outlined last year, as were the contents of its first three interim reports, which were:

1. Report recommending the establishment of a permanent, statutory Parliamentary Commission on Internal Security;
2. First interim report on Nusas;
3. Report on the Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre.

Arising from these reports and from the Government's suspicions in regard to certain organizations, the Affected Organizations Bill was introduced in the Assembly during February.

### AFFECTED ORGANIZATIONS ACT, NO. 31 OF 1974

#### Reasons for introduction of the measure

When introducing the Affected Organizations Bill at its Second Reading in the Assembly<sup>1</sup> the Deputy Minister of Justice said that interference by foreign countries on the internal political scene was universally condemned. Foreign financial assistance for the furtherance of any particular political view was also undesirable. The Prohibition of Political Interference Act, 1968, prohibited political parties from receiving money for political purposes from outside the Republic. But there were various organizations in S.A. which were active in the extra-parliamentary political field, in co-operation with foreign organizations and people that were, trying in this way to achieve their own political

<sup>1</sup> 22 February, Hansard 3 (Fourth Parliament) cols. 1614-6.

## MEASURES FOR SECURITY AND THE CONTROL OF PERSONS

### VOTES FOR SECURITY, DEFENCE, AND POLICE

According to the Republic's Estimates of Expenditure from Revenue Account for the year ending 31 March 1975,<sup>1</sup> the amounts budgeted for the services indicated are:

|   | R                  |
|---|--------------------|
| Contribution to Security Services Special Account . . . . . | 12 536 000         |
| Defence . . . . .   | 692 025 000        |
| Police . . . . .  | 153 127 000        |
|   | <u>857 688 000</u> |

This represents 19,77 per cent of the total estimated expenditure from Revenue Account, and is an increase of R259 754 000 over the previous year's estimates.

Besides this, R26 579 200 is to be provided from Loan Account,<sup>2</sup> R10 496 000 of it for the purchase of shares of the Armament Development and Production Corporation of S.A. (Ltd.), and the rest for buildings required by the Defence and Police Departments.

### EMPLOYMENT OF BLACKS IN THE DEFENCE FORCE

Speaking in the Assembly during February,<sup>3</sup> Mr. W. Vause Raw gave an assurance that if the Government decided to make increased use of Blacks in the country's defence system the United Party would not exploit this in any way for party political purposes.

In the course of his reply,<sup>4</sup> the Minister of Defence said that the Coloured Corps had been developed into a model organization that was a feather in the caps of the Defence Force and the Coloured population as a whole. It was growing by the day, and Coloured men were increasingly being absorbed into the navy, too.

The Minister foreshadowed the establishment of an Indian Corps. Later, during July, he announced<sup>5</sup> that Salisbury Island, Durban, was to be re-established as a fully-operational naval base. It would also be the headquarters for an Indian Service Battalion, for which recruiting would start shortly. The first 200 trainees

<sup>1</sup> R.P. 2/1974 pages 13, 46, and 327.

<sup>2</sup> R.P. 3/1974, pages 18, 31, 82, and 92.

<sup>3</sup> Hansard 1 cols. 294-6.

<sup>4</sup> Cols. 304-6.

<sup>5</sup> *Sunday Express*, 14 July; *Fiat Lux*, August.

would begin a twelve-months' course in January 1975, this course being of a general nature relating to all three sections of the Defence Force. Those who qualified at the end of the training would be given an opportunity of joining the Permanent Force.

In his speech made in February the Minister said that the question of participation by Africans in the Defence Force was being investigated in consultation with homeland leaders. (By then, local Africans were already serving as trackers with army patrols in the Caprivi Strip, armed, and wearing uniform, but they were not regular members of the Army. Blacks of all groups were serving as full members of the Police Force on border duty in the north.)

During June, the Defence Force advertised in various newspapers for African recruits to serve in the Army. According to military spokesmen<sup>6</sup>, volunteers who were selected would be given training in drill, military law, the handling of weapons, and first aid and hygiene. They would subsequently be employed mainly on guard duties but also as drivers, clerks, storemen, and dog handlers. Guards would be armed while on duty.

### DEFENCE OF THE BORDERS

As described in a subsequent chapter, the Defence Force has taken over from the Police Force the defence of the northern borders of South West Africa and the Caprivi Strip.

A socio-economic upliftment programme has been in progress in the Caprivi Strip, one of the aims being to win the goodwill and co-operation of the local population.

The military exercise that was undertaken last year in Gazankulu, fairly close to the Mozambique border, was mentioned on page 86 of the 1973 *Survey*. During May the Army, Navy, and Air Force joined in a practical exercise for the defence of the Zululand shoreline. On both occasions local Africans were kept fully informed, and were asked to co-operate by reporting the presence of any suspicious-looking "invaders".<sup>7</sup>

### DEFENCE FURTHER AMENDMENT ACT, NO. 83 OF 1974

#### Terms of the original Bill

A Defence Further Amendment Bill had been drafted before the S.A. Council of Churches passed its resolution dealing with conscientious objection to military service, described on page 47. The Bill provided *inter alia*, that all persons allotted to the Citizen Force or commandos would be liable to serve over a period of ten years. A proviso previously contained in the Act was to be deleted, viz, that the period would be shortened if the person concerned had completed a period of continuous service. The Minister was to be empowered, in circumstances of urgency, to extend the period

<sup>6</sup> *Star*, 14 and 15 June; *Sunday Express*, 16 June.

<sup>7</sup> *Sunday Times*, 26 May.

during which members of the Citizen Force or Reserve or commandos might be called out for service. It would be an offence to refuse to employ anyone on the ground of this person's liability to serve in the Citizen Force or commandos.

Other clauses of the Bill dealt with compensation or pension benefits payable to members of the forces, and decorations and medals for long service and bravery.

After the SACC's resolution had been adopted by it, the Minister of Defence withdrew the draft Bill and added a clause that is described below.

It should first be mentioned, however, that in terms of the Defence Act of 1957<sup>8</sup> it is an offence to induce, or to attempt to induce, a member of the Defence Force or any auxiliary service to neglect or to act in conflict with his duty, or to aid or incite a member of the Defence Force or auxiliary service to evade or infringe a lawful order given to him or any law or regulation with which it is his duty to comply. The maximum penalties, on conviction, are, in terms of the Amendment Bill, to be R1 000 or five years or both.

The 1957 Act made certain provision for conscientious objectors.<sup>9</sup> It provided that a registering officer shall as far as may be practicable allot any person who to his knowledge bona fide belongs and adheres to a recognized religious denomination by the tenets whereof its members may not participate in war, to a unit where such person will be able to render service in the defence of the Republic in a non-combatant capacity.

It is, thus, not an offence to refuse to serve other than in a non-combatant capacity if one's bona fide religious denomination is opposed to participation in war, but it is an offence to refuse to serve at all.

In general, members of the Society of Friends (Quakers) when called up for service have elected to serve in non-combatant capacities. So have a number of Seventh Day Adventists. Many members of the Jehovah's Witnesses, however, have refused to serve at all. Such persons have been sentenced to twelve months in an army detention barracks.<sup>10</sup>

Questioned in the Assembly on 13 September,<sup>11</sup> the Minister of Defence said it was Departmental policy that all applications for non-combatant positions were granted. He stated that figures indicating the number of men who had applied for non-combatant positions during 1973 were not readily available. The following other statistics were, however, furnished:

- (a) During the first six months of 1974, seven Seventh Day Adventists, one Plymouth Bretheren, and three Jehovah's Witnesses applied for non-combatant positions.

<sup>8</sup> Section 121 (a) and (b).

<sup>9</sup> Section 67 (3).

<sup>10</sup> Minister of Defence, Assembly 15 August, Hansard 2 cols. 800-5; and *Rand Daily Mail* report, 16 August.

<sup>11</sup> Hansard 6 cols. 448-50.

(b) In the July 1974 intake of national servicemen, 27 trainees applied for non-combatant positions. They included 18 Seventh Day Adventists, three Plymouth Bretheren, two Jehovah's Witnesses, one Assembly of God, one Gurumaghara, one Free Church member, one Apostolic Faith Mission.

(c) During 1973, 158 Jehovah's Witnesses and one man belonging to the religion of the Sun God were sentenced for refusing on religious grounds to render service or undergo training.

(d) During the first six months of 1974, 120 Jehovah's Witnesses and two Christ Adelprians were sentenced on the same grounds.

A new and more far-reaching clause than that quoted earlier was added to the Defence Further Amendment Bill before it was introduced in the Assembly.<sup>12</sup> It provided that it would be an offence:

- (i) in any manner whatsoever to advise, encourage, aid, incite, or instigate any other person or any category of persons or persons in general; or
- (ii) to use any language or do any act or thing calculated to encourage, aid, incite, instigate, suggest to, or otherwise cause any other person or any category of persons or persons in general,

to refuse or fail to render any service to which such other person or a person of such category or persons in general is or are liable or may become liable in terms of the Act. The maximum penalty for persons convicted of this offence was laid down as R10 000 or ten years or both.

#### Parliamentary debate

When introducing the Bill in the Assembly at its Second Reading,<sup>13</sup> the Minister of Defence referred to the motion passed by the S.A. Council of Churches. In general, he said, the reaction against this motion had been extremely encouraging. Nusas, however, had "turned against the Republic of South Africa's military preparedness in an outrageous manner". The new clause, he stated, was aimed at "those persons who, wrapped in a cloak of sanctimoniousness, are trying to prejudice the security of South Africa". The Minister gave his opinion that, after its Second Reading, the Bill should be referred to a Select Committee.

Mr. W. Vause Raw stated<sup>14</sup> that the United Party would support the Bill at its Second Reading, since it was at one with the Government on the defence of the sovereignty of the State and would support any measures designed to protect the territory of S.A. from assault or attack. The U.P. differed with the

<sup>12</sup> Proposed new Section 121(e).

<sup>13</sup> 15 August, Hansard 2 cols. 800-5.

<sup>14</sup> Cols. 805-9.



Government on certain clauses of the Bill, but considered that differences could be thrashed out in Select Committee.

The Progressive Party, however, moved that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee before the Second Reading vote. Mr. C. W. Eglin said<sup>15</sup> that the Government had over-reacted to the resolution of the S.A. Council of Churches. He believed it was important that "we should avoid developing a war-psychosis as opposed to a realization of the danger of conflict". A few provisions of the Bill were so substantial that they amounted to matters of principle, especially the clause dealing with conscientious objection to military service. Dr. A. L. Boraine urged<sup>16</sup> that persons who felt very strongly on religious grounds that they could not serve in the armed forces in any capacity should be given an opportunity of serving their country in a form of national service outside the Defence Force.

The Progressive Party's motion was defeated, the U.P. voting with the Government.

#### Some reactions outside Parliament

The administrative board of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference issued a Press statement<sup>1</sup> on the clause of the Bill relating to conscientious objection, saying that His Eminence Cardinal Owen McCann would submit a memorandum on behalf of the Conference to the Select Committee, and would apply to appear in person to make representations in support of the memorandum.

The administrative board had agreed that the Bill as it stood was unacceptable. The clause, it said, "appears to aim at the total suppression of all reasonable discussion about conscientious objection and of all comment and counsel relating to it, an extreme measure incompatible with Christ's gospel of peace. The members of the board agree that should the Bill become law in its present form, they would be bound in conscience to disobey it, and would expect clergy and people of their own and other churches to do likewise".

Archbishop Denis Hurley, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Durban, told the Press<sup>2</sup> he believed that in the S.A. situation, unless strenuous efforts were made to reach understanding between White and Black, conscientious objection should become adopted as a principle by the churches. Should S.A. become involved in a border war, this war would have been provoked by the policy of apartheid. To defend White South African society by force of arms was to defend the policy of apartheid. To defend apartheid was to defend an unjust cause. It was not permissible for

Christians to fight an unjust war. (The Minister of Defence challenged this statement, saying that if S.A. became involved in a border war, this would result from interference by communist countries in the affairs of Africa.<sup>3</sup>)

A memorandum to put before the Select Committee was prepared by the Pretoria Justice and Peace Commission, a clerical and lay body of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Pretoria.<sup>4</sup> It viewed the new clause of the Bill with grave misgivings, as being destructive of human integrity and incompatible with Christ's Gospel of peace. The clause placed an onus on the individual conscience which it could not hope to bear with integrity. If the clause were to be enforced, violence would be done to the most basic of human "constructs"—namely the freedom to respond to the promptings of conscience.

Archbishop Bill Burnett of the Church of the Province of S.A. (Anglican) said<sup>5</sup> that his Church would apply to appear before the Select Committee. In any event, written evidence would be submitted.

The Anglican Bishop-elect of Johannesburg, Dean Timothy Bavin, told the Press<sup>6</sup> that he did not see how he could fail to agree with the Roman Catholic bishops' stand. He, too, found the Bill unacceptable, and if it became law, would disobey it. Other churchmen expressed similar views.

Chief Lucas Mangope of BophuthaTswana commented<sup>7</sup> that if the proposed clause became law it would be very difficult for homeland leaders to put their case to their people that the volunteering for military service should be conditional on being given a real stake in S.A. "We are prepared to lay down our lives in defence of our country, but life is sacred . . . We do not want anybody to get the impression that we are prepared to defend the country for the privileged position of others and the disabilities and inequalities that we are subjected to." Similar views had, previously, been expressed by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and Mr. Sonny Leon. Dr. Cedric Phatudi stated that he was in full agreement.

#### Report of the Select Committee

The Select Committee was composed of nine N.P., three U.P., and one P.P. members. According to Press reports, various amendments to the main controversial clause that were proposed by the Opposition members were rejected by the majority. One change only to this clause was recommended in the majority report, viz that it be rendered an offence to use any language or do any act or thing with intent to recommend to, (instead of "calculated

<sup>1</sup> Cols. 827-8; 1452-60.

<sup>2</sup> Cols. 1473-4.

<sup>3</sup> e.g. *Rand Daily Mail*, 5 September.

<sup>4</sup> *Sunday Times*, 8 and 22 September.

<sup>5</sup> *Assembly*, 9 September, Hansard 6 col. 2485.

<sup>6</sup> *Star*, 13 September.

<sup>7</sup> *Star*, 5 September.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>9</sup> *Rand Daily Mail*, 16 September.

to) encourage or in any way cause any person or category of persons to refuse or fail to render any service to which they are liable under the Defence Act.

### Third Reading Debate

During the Third Reading debate the Minister accepted a U.P. amendment that the maximum penalty for inciting a person not to serve in the Defence Force be reduced from R10 000 or ten years or both to R5 000 or six years or both. The Minister said that genuine conscientious objectors could serve in non-combatant positions without weapons even if they did not belong to recognised pacifist churches. He was willing to meet church leaders to discuss the measure. The Bill was passed with only the P.P. voting against it.

### RIOTOUS ASSEMBLIES AMENDMENT ACT, NO. 30 OF 1974

#### Purpose of the Act

When introducing the Bill in the Assembly<sup>1</sup>, the Deputy Minister of Justice said that in recent years problems had emerged in regard to the principal Act of 1956. It had, for example, been found that the power of magistrates to prohibit gatherings was too limited. The Act sometimes required exact compliance with elaborate formalities at a time of emergency. In this way effective action was impeded and offenders were afforded the opportunity of procuring an acquittal on technical grounds. In addition, the Act covered only public gatherings in defined public places in the open air. Gatherings in other places could not be prohibited or controlled, regardless of how dangerous a situation they might create. (The Deputy Minister's further explanations, in reply to the Parliamentary debate, are given later.)

#### Terms of the Act

The principal Act (1914, as amended) dealt with public gatherings held in public places. The 1974 Amendment Act deleted the word "public" throughout the measure. The definition of a gathering was altered. Previously it meant "any gathering, concourse, or procession in, through, or along any public place, of twelve or more persons having a common purpose, whether such purpose be lawful or unlawful". In terms of the amendment a "gathering" means any gathering, concourse, or procession of any number of persons. In cases where a blanket ban is imposed on gatherings, the word means "a gathering, concourse, or procession of any number of persons having a common purpose, whether such purpose be lawful or unlawful".

<sup>1</sup> 21 February, Hansard 3 cols. 1477-82.

The powers of magistrates under the Act were increased. Without recourse to the Minister of Justice, a magistrate may prohibit any or every gathering, or any particular gathering, or any specified kind of gathering, at a specified place or everywhere in his district, for a period not exceeding 48 hours, if he has reason to apprehend that the public peace is seriously threatened. He may allow exemptions.

The Minister may prohibit any or every gathering, or any particular gathering, or any specified kind of gathering, at a specified place or in a specified area or everywhere in the Republic, for any period or during specified times or periods, if he deems such action to be necessary or expedient for the maintenance of the public peace, or if he has reason to apprehend that unless such action is taken feelings or hostility will be engendered between Whites and Blacks, or if he has reason to apprehend that such hostility will be endangered if a particular person were to attend a gathering. Exemptions may be authorized by the Minister or a magistrate.

As before, the Minister may prohibit a particular person from attending a gathering.

It was previously an offence to convene, preside at, or address a public gathering that had been prohibited, or to encourage or promote it in any way or make its proposed assembly known in any manner. The 1974 Act rendered it an offence, also, to attend a prohibited gathering.

A police officer of or above the rank of Warrant Officer may disperse a gathering which takes place despite a prohibition order, or one that becomes or threatens to become riotous. He was previously required to try to obtain the attention of those present, then in a loud voice to warn them three times that force would be used unless they left the place of assembly within a time specified by him. In terms of the amendments, he will be required in a loud voice to order them in each of the official languages to depart within a specified time. The order need not be repeated, and warning of the use of force need not be given.

#### Parliamentary debate

On behalf of the United Party, Mr. M. J. Mitchell<sup>2</sup> said that the removal of the word "public" and the change in the definition of "gathering" together resulted in a piece of legislation which differed completely from the law that the public had accepted for the past sixty years. The measure was an unnecessary invasion of the privacy of people. He described absurdities that could arise in private homes or clubs during the period of a blanket ban on gatherings.

<sup>2</sup> Cols. 1487-96.

Mr. Mitchell conceded that the Government might have a case if it attempted merely to confer power to prohibit gatherings on private property which might escalate into the public street.

He moved to omit all the words after "That" and to substitute "this House, mindful of the need to ensure public peace and order as the foundation for individual freedoms, and being at all times prepared to give to the Executive reasonable powers for the maintenance of such public peace and order when circumstances warrant it, declines to pass the Second Reading of the Riotous Assemblies Amendment Bill, because, *inter alia*,

- "(a) the Bill permits the exercise of arbitrary powers which could result in unwarranted and unjustified interference in the private lives and rights of individuals to an extent not necessary for the maintenance of public peace and order;
- "(b) the Bill abandons the principles of the law relating to riotous assemblies and the disturbance of public peace and order which have been applied and accepted in South Africa for sixty years; and
- "(c) the Bill fails to provide adequate safeguards against injustice to innocent individuals and organizations."

Mrs. Helen Suzman (Progressive Party) moved<sup>3</sup> that the Bill be read that day six months. It stemmed, she maintained, from the Government's ignominious failure to secure convictions against student protesters at the Universities of Cape Town and the Witwatersrand in 1972 and 1973.<sup>4</sup> A considerable amount of taxpayers' money had had to be paid in making *ex gratia* payments to settle many of these cases.

The Minister was clearly determined, Mrs. Suzman said, that university campuses should be open to the police in cases where he decided to ban meetings there. She believed that powers that were being taken in terms of the Bill would be used against students and against workers who held meetings in protest against low wages, and eventually against all the Government's opponents. The measure was yet another step in the process of silencing opposition.

In the course of his reply to the debate<sup>5</sup> the Deputy Minister said it had been fortunate for the Government that the students whom Mrs. Suzman had referred had taken court action, for the court cases had indicated indisputably that the Act had become archaic, and could not be adapted to meet the existing situation in S.A. He referred, for example, to a gathering on the steps of St. George's Cathedral in 1972. The courts had deemed that this did not constitute a gathering within the meaning of the Act because there were never more than eleven persons on the steps at any one time. People had milled about so that it was impossible to know

<sup>3</sup> Cols. 1537-43.

<sup>4</sup> This matter is described in the chapter of this Survey dealing with student organizations.

<sup>5</sup> Cols. 1600-8.

when they were part of the public and when they were part of the gathering.

The Deputy Minister discounted U.P. claims that a blanket ban on gatherings could affect even private bridge parties, where players had the common purpose of playing bridge. A "common purpose" was laid down in the administration of justice as "a common objective plus a concerted action", he said. The Appeal Court had ruled that at a purely social gathering there was no intention of achieving anything by concerted action. Further, the common purpose must be of such a nature that there was reason to apprehend that it would seriously endanger the public peace.

Certain people, he alleged, were attempting to bring about change, if necessary involving the use of force, which was aimed at overthrowing the entire system of government in S.A. They made use, where they could, of churchmen, of students, and, recently, of workers, inciting them to strike. It would be irresponsible of the Government, the Deputy Minister maintained, not to obtain the necessary powers in time to enable it to combat this situation. It had become essential to streamline the Act so that, if serious disturbances did occur, the authorities would be in a position to take more rapid action that was within the law.

#### Opposition by others

Strong opposition to the Bill was expressed by a considerable number of organizations and individuals, including the Institute of Race Relations, the Christian Institute, the Black Sash, and Nusas.

#### GATHERINGS THAT HAVE BEEN PROHIBITED

On 29 March the magistrate of Durban informed five local newspapers and the S.A. Broadcasting Corporation that he had reason to apprehend that the public peace would be seriously endangered by a gathering advertised as Heroes Day Sharpeville Commemorative Service, to be held in the hall of the YMCA, Leatrice St., on 30 March. The Press speculated<sup>6</sup> that this meeting was to have been organized by the S.A. Students' Organization.

Also during March, students of the University of Cape Town applied to the chief magistrate for permission to stage a protest demonstration against a State visit to S.A. by President Alfredo Stroessner of Paraguay. The Deputy Minister of Justice issued Government Notice 592 of 1 April, in which he deemed it expedient for the maintenance of the public peace to prohibit any such protest or demonstration.

Government Notice 1362 of 9 August prohibited until 11 August 1976 certain forms of outdoor gatherings in part of the central area of Cape Town. The gatherings prohibited were:

<sup>6</sup> *Daily Mail*, 30 March.

1. gatherings, concourses, or processions in or through the area of twelve or more persons having a common purpose;
2. gatherings (which a particular person may be prohibited from attending) at which any form of State or any principle or policy of the Government of a State is propagated, defended, attacked, criticised, or discussed, or at which any person, cause, action, or contemplated action or failure to take action is protested against.

Exemptions may be granted by the magistrate.

On 24 September the Minister of Justice prohibited until 20 October any meetings, anywhere in the country, to be held by or on behalf of the S.A. Students' Organization or the Black People's Convention. By means of pamphlets and banners these bodies had made it known that they were planning to convene pro-Frelimo rallies.

Despite this ban, meetings were held the next day at Curries Fountain, Durban, and at the University of the North (Turloop). About 1 000 people assembled to attend the Durban gathering. Through a loud-hailer, a police officer issued several orders to the crowd to disperse. It was reported that stones and bottles were thrown at the police while he spoke. Using about 20 dogs, the police then broke up the meeting. Several arrests were made. After between 450 and 500 Turloop students had failed to heed a warning to disperse, the police charged with batons and fired tear-gas cartridges. Cars belonging to members of the university staff were stoned and four members of staff injured. Subsequent events at the university are described in the chapter on Education.

After the meetings, the police searched the offices and homes of Saso and B.P.C. members at various centres in S.A., making a number of further arrests. The detention of the persons concerned is dealt with in the chapter on Justice.

The editor of the *Natal Daily News* was arrested for having published a report that the ban on gatherings was "to be defied". Under the provisions of the Riotous Assemblies Act it is an offence to "advertise" a meeting that has been prohibited. Ban was allowed. It was announced later that both the editor and the senior assistant editor would be tried in the Durban Regional Court on 27 November. After the hearing, judgment was reserved.

The Acting Chief Magistrate of Johannesburg prohibited any gathering of the Transvaal Youth Organization to be held from midnight on 28 September to midnight on 3 October.

**RESTRICTION ORDERS ON PERSONS**

The Institute of Race Relations published a memorandum entitled "Suppression of Communism Act: Notes on Action Taken Against Persons" (RR. 58/1974) which set out the provisions of the Act in regard to the "listing" and "banning" of persons. "Listed persons are those whose names have been listed in terms of

Section 3 of the Act as having at any time been office-bearers, officers, members or active supporters of an organization that has been declared to be unlawful. A person may be "banned" (i.e. served with orders restricting his activities) if the Minister of Justice is satisfied that he is in any way encouraging the achievement of any of the objects of communism, or is likely to do so, or engages in activities which may do so. (Sections 5 and 9). The implications of being listed or banned are described in the memorandum.

It would appear, from records maintained by the writer over the years, that at the end of April there were 459 names on the list. Considerable numbers of names had been removed after the persons concerned had successfully applied for this to be done, or if they had died. Details are:

|          | No. of names<br>on the list | Of these, no.<br>of persons also subject<br>to restriction orders |
|----------|-----------------------------|---|
| Whites   | 188                         | 70  |
| Coloured | 43                          | 10  |
| Asians   | 57                          | 19  |
| Africans | 171                         | 33  |
|          | <hr/> 459                   | <hr/> 132   |

According to the same records, the total numbers of persons who had been banned since the Act came into operation in 1951, and the number of restriction orders apparently in force at the end of April, were:

|          | Total number<br>banned | Orders in force<br>at the end of April |
|----------|------------------------|--|
| Whites   | 139                    | 37                                     |
| Coloured | 84                     | 28                                     |
| Asians   | 104                    | 35                                     |
| Africans | 913                    | 106                                    |
|          | <hr/> 1 240            | <hr/> 206                              |

Many of the restriction orders had been allowed to lapse, or were withdrawn. On the other hand, a number had been renewed on their expiration, twice or even three times.

According to the latest official list, published in the *Government Gazette* of 26 July (Government Notice R 1298) the total numbers of persons then banned were 31 Whites and 155 Blacks.

It was stated in the Assembly on 9 August on behalf of the Minister of Justice that, during the year ended 30 June,

72 banning orders were issued;

84 were allowed to expire and 2 were withdrawn;

11 were renewed, of which 4 had been renewed once before.

The Minister said on 17 September<sup>2</sup> that 62 of the banning orders issued during 1973 were served on persons on their release from jail after serving sentences under the security laws. The equivalent figure for 1974 was 30.

During December 1973 a five-year banning order was served on Dr. Manas Buthelezi, a Lutheran minister, Natal regional director of the Christian Institute, and a first cousin of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi. He was prohibited from attending social or political gatherings and from addressing students, but was not confined to any specific area. His passport was not confiscated, and he used it during April to attend a meeting in Geneva of the Lutheran World Federation. Then, in May, the restriction order was withdrawn, no reason being given.<sup>3</sup>

Another five-year order that was withdrawn without explanation was that served during 1973 on the Rev. Hamilton Qambela, who at the time had been acting president of the S.A. Students' Organization.

An order which had been in force for ten years against Mr. Peter Brown, national president of the former Liberal Party, was allowed to lapse during July. It nevertheless appeared, according to legal opinion<sup>4</sup>, that it remained an offence for anyone to record, publish, or disseminate any utterance or writing of Mr. Brown's except with the Minister's consent.<sup>5</sup>

Among those banned for five-year periods during 1974 were three men (Messrs. Halton Cheadle, David Hemson, and David Davis) who had been involved in the Students' Wages Commission at the University of Natal and in the organization of African trade unions. They were, *inter alia*, subjected to house arrest.

Several people have been banned for a third consecutive period of five years, including Mr. Mohamed Bhana (former S.A. Indian Congress), and Mrs. Albertina Sisulu (wife of Mr. Walter Sisulu, ex-ANC, who is serving a life sentence on Robben Island).

In the course of an American television interview on 19 April the Prime Minister is widely reported to have said that a banned person was entitled to ask for the reasons why he was banned, and "these reasons are given to him".

In terms of the Act<sup>6</sup> the Minister must, if requested, furnish a banned person with a statement setting forth his reasons for the banning order and so much of the information which induced the Minister to issue it as can, in his opinion, be disclosed without detriment to public policy. After the Prime Minister's statement Messrs. De

<sup>2</sup> Hansard 7 cols. 474-5.

<sup>3</sup> *Star*, 7 December 1973 and 28 May; *Rand Daily Mail*, 27 April.

<sup>4</sup> Quoted in the *Rand Daily Mail*, 1 August.

<sup>5</sup> Section 11 (g) *bis* of the Act.

<sup>6</sup> Sections 9(2) and 10 (1) *bis*.

de Beer, David Hemson, Mewa Ramgobin, and Morgan Naidoo wrote to the Minister asking the reasons for their banning. They were in due course informed that "the information which induced the Minister to issue the notices can, in his opinion, not be disclosed without detriment to public policy". In Mr. De Beer's case the Minister added, "Keeping in mind the definition of communism in the Act<sup>7</sup> you should, however, have no difficulty in identifying those aspects of your activities which gave rise to the actions taken against you."

In the Assembly on 8 February<sup>8</sup> it was stated on behalf of the Minister of Justice that, during 1973, 16 persons had been prosecuted and 11 convicted for non-compliance with the terms of restriction orders.

#### BANNING ORDERS THAT MAY BE IMPOSED BY HOMELAND GOVERNMENTS

Sections 1 and 10 of the Second Bantu Laws Amendment Act No. 71 of 1974, amend the Transkei Constitution Act and the Bantu Homelands Constitution Act to enable homeland governments to impose certain types of banning orders. The legislative and executive powers of the Republic will, however, be retained in the areas of the homeland governments.

The new Act provides that a homeland government may, within its area and for the purpose of maintaining public safety, public peace, order, or good government—

- (a) prohibit any organization of which Africans are members or allowed to become members, and the membership of any such organization;
  - (b) prohibit the furtherance, in any manner, of the objects of any such organization;
  - (c) place prohibition or restriction orders on any African who is an office-bearer of any such organization;
  - (d) restrict the presence of any African to a particular place or area;
  - (e) prohibit the publication or dissemination of the contents of any speech, utterance, writing, or statement of any African.
- These powers, however, may be exercised only provided that
- (i) the person is not acting in conflict with any Act or legislative power of Parliament, or with the powers and duties of any authority or person in the Republic in terms of any law;
  - (ii) the person is acting only with the prior approval of the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development.

On 21 October, during the Second Reading debate on the Bill, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that the Transkei and Ciskei had asked for a measure of this

<sup>7</sup> A very wide definition. See the Institute's memorandum RR. 58/1974, paras 1-3 and 10. Question col. 32.

nature. The other homeland governments, all of which had received copies of the draft Bill, had made no adverse comment: Gazankulu had expressed approval.<sup>9</sup>

Both the United Party and the Progressive Party opposed the measure strongly at all its stages, the P.P. moving that it be read that day six months.<sup>10</sup>

#### BANISHMENT ORDER

The Government's powers of banishing Africans from one place to another within the Republic, conferred by Section 5(l) (b) of the Bantu Administration Act, 1927, were invoked in October for the first time in some years. Mr. L. L. Mtshizana was banished from the Mdantsane district, near East London, to the district of Herschel bordering on Lesotho.

#### REMOVAL ORDERS IN THE TRANSKEI

Detentions of persons in the Transkei in terms of Proclamation 400 of 1960 are described in a subsequent chapter. This proclamation also empowered a chief so authorized by the Minister to order persons under his control to move, with their households and property, from one place to another within the chief's area of jurisdiction. In reply to a question in the Assembly on 16 September,<sup>1</sup> the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development said that a total of 27 Transkeian citizens were then living under removal orders, which were served on them between 1961 and 1972.

#### TRAVEL DOCUMENTS

According to various statements by the Minister of the Interior, and the Departmental Report for 1973,<sup>2</sup> the authorities issued 216 013 passports during that year. Passports were refused to 152 S.A. citizens (57 Asians, 44 Africans, 30 Whites, and 21 Coloured). Eighteen passports were withdrawn.

The deportation orders issued totalled 284, but 45 of these were suspended "subject to good behaviour".

Applications for visas numbered 220 804, of which 1 786 were refused. Among persons whose applications were refused in late 1973 and in 1974 were Professor Gwendolen Carter and Professor Thomas Karis, the American academics who have made special studies in S.A., Dr. J. Feddema, a senior lecturer at the Free University of Amsterdam, Dr. Albert van den Heuvel, Secretary-general of the Netherlands Reformed Church, and Professor Keith Sorrenson from New Zealand who had been involved in the cancellation of the Springbok rugby tour of his country in 1973.

<sup>9</sup> Assembly Hansard 12 cols. 5915-6.

<sup>10</sup> Col. 5891.

<sup>1</sup> Hansard 7 col. 461.

<sup>2</sup> 5, 6, and 19 February, Hansard 1 cols. 190-2 and Question col. 6; Hansard 3 col. 108, *Star*, 6 August

The banned trade unionist, Mr. David Davis, left S.A. secretly, on a valid passport, and was granted asylum in Britain. The banned Nusas leader, Mr. Philippe le Roux, left for London on an exit permit.

Two further members of the S.A. Students' Organization, Messrs. Theo Moatshe and "Oupa" Khoape, escaped from the country to join other exiles in Botswana.<sup>3</sup> One of these exiles, Mr. Abraham Tiro, was killed in Botswana by a parcel bomb explosion, the parcel having been sent from Geneva. Seven more escaped later.

The Nusas leader, Neville Curtis, escaped from S.A. to Australia.

#### PROHIBITION OF FOMENTING INTER-GROUP HOSTILITY

Section 29(1) of the Bantu Administration Act, 1927, prohibited the fomenting of feelings of hostility between Africans and Whites. This prohibition was extended to all racial groups in terms of Section 1 of the Second General Law Amendment Act, No. 94 of 1974, which provided that "Any person who utters words or performs any other act with intent to cause, encourage or foment feelings of hostility between different population groups of the Republic shall be guilty of an offence and liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding R2 000 or to imprisonment for a period not exceeding two years, or to both such fine and such imprisonment".

## “LIBERATION MOVEMENTS”

N.B. The term “liberation movements” is put in inverted commas in this chapter heading because, although it is in common usage abroad, this is not the case in South Africa, especially among Whites. In previous issues of this *Survey* the word “guerrillas” has been used as a compromise between “liberation movements” or “freedom fighters”, on the one hand, and “terrorists” on the other. But Frelimo and the PAIGC are no longer guerrillas nor fighters. And spokesmen for these movements would certainly deny that they aspire to govern by terror-inspiring methods.

### AID FROM ABROAD TO LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

It was announced in February<sup>1</sup> that the World Council of Churches was to distribute about R300 000 from its “special fund to combat racism” among 29 organizations in various continents, of which R67 000 would go to the PAIGC in Guinea, and R149 000 to liberation movements in Southern Africa, to be used for humanitarian purposes. Frelimo would receive R40 000 of this amount.

Prior to these grants, the special fund had disbursed some R402 000, of which more than 60 per cent went to the movements in Southern Africa.

Norway, Sweden, Tanzania, Finland, the Netherlands, and other countries have continued to give considerable financial and other help. In its Bulletin No. 5 of 1974, the Africa Institute listed prominent supporters of the movements, including 2 international organizations, 7 churches or church movements, more than 20 governments, ten or more large private organizations, and various private individuals. Conservative estimates, it was stated, would give a figure in excess of R23-million that had been channelled to liberation movements in Southern Africa from Western sources. Pledges by members of the OAU totalled R14,5-million (but numbers of the pledges were not honoured regularly or in full). There had been a multi-million outlay by the Iron Curtain countries, in armaments, vehicles, the provision of military training, and other ways.

### THE CAPRIVI STRIP

Developments in the Caprivi Strip are described in the chapter on South West Africa.

<sup>1</sup> *Star*, 21 February.

## RHODESIA<sup>1</sup>

### Attacks on White civilians

The new tactics adopted by Zanu and Zapu<sup>2</sup> towards the end of 1972, and the action that followed, were described on pages 86 *et seq* of last year's *Survey*. As recounted there, guerrillas attacked a number of White-owned farms during 1973. The protective measures then taken bore fruit, for few such attacks were made in 1974. A farmer and his wife were killed in February in the north-eastern Centenary area when they drove into an ambush while returning home at night. During May, Zanu fighters set fire to a farmhouse in this area, the owner of which was away at the time. A farmer died when his Patu group<sup>3</sup> was ambushed and shots were exchanged. A White animal health inspector and a road engineer were shot dead when they encountered groups of guerrillas, and another engineer was killed when his car detonated a landmine. According to Press reports, about 20 White civilians have died at the hands of guerrillas or in landmine blasts since December 1972.

An African threw a stick-grenade into a night club in Salisbury during July, injuring several people.

Mr. Gerald Hawkesworth, who was kidnapped by Zanu in January 1973, was released in Dar-es-Salaam towards the end of that year.

### Attacks on Africans

There have been a number of further attacks on African kraals, especially on the Madziwa and Chiweshe tribal trust lands between Salisbury and the Centenary area. Heads of kraals and tribesmen who refused to assist guerrillas or who were suspected of being informers have been murdered, injured, or beaten, and their women sometimes raped. Youths have been abducted or pressed into joining Zanu. Kraals have been burned and cattle stolen.

Members of the staff of isolated schools or clinics, or of road maintenance gangs, have been attacked, too, and further Africans have been killed in landmine explosions. It was estimated by the Press at the end of September that at least 130 African civilians had been killed since the new offensive started at the end of 1972, while many more have been injured.

White farmers have been encouraged to fence in the accommodation provided for African employees, providing guards, floodlights, and sentry-boxes. Security forces have ambushed routes used by guerrillas, and have imposed curfews on people living in the areas concerned. Warnings have been issued that Africans found wandering about in these districts after dark

<sup>1</sup> The account that follows has been compiled from more than a hundred Press and other reports, thus individual references are not given.

<sup>2</sup> Zimbabwe African National Union and Zimbabwe African People's Union.

<sup>3</sup> Anti-guerrilla groups formed by farmers for mutual protection.

will be presumed to be guerrillas. At least seven men have been killed accidentally when they ignored the curfew and walked into ambushes.

Official provision has been made for innocent victims of attacks to claim compensation from the Government for incapacitation, medical expenses, loss of earnings, damage to property, etc. It was announced in June that about R320 000 had been paid during the past sixteen months.

#### Fortified villages

The Rhodesian Government announced in December 1973 that more than 8 000 African tribesmen from the north-eastern border with Mozambique had been moved further south into fortified villages, each accommodating 1 500 to 2 000 people. They were not allowed to take their livestock, which were sold on their behalf. Schools and clinics were being provided in the new villages. This action was taken to protect the tribesmen from attack, and also to make it impossible for them to assist guerrillas.

Security forces are reported to have destroyed two large kraals on tribal trust lands near the Centenary area during February and April, respectively, as punishment to the tribesmen for allowing guerrilla groups to use these kraals as bases for operations, from which murders were committed. The cattle owned by these people were sold. Those of the residents who were not implicated in the murders were resettled in villages further to the south.

More radical action was taken later in the year. During July the entire population of the Chiweshe trust land, numbering about 50 000, was moved by the authorities from about 187 kraals into 21 protected villages. It was reported that the people would be able to return to their lands during the daytime to cultivate them and tend their cattle. Similarly, in September, roughly 16 500 tribesmen from 142 kraals in the neighbouring Madziwa tribal trust area were resettled into ten security villages.

#### Rewards offered for assisting the authorities

The Prime Minister, Mr. Ian Smith, announced in May that farmers in the war zone, mainly in the north-east of the country, would receive financial help for the provision of protective measures on their properties.

Thousands of leaflets and posters were distributed among Africans in these areas, offering cash rewards of varying amounts for information leading to the death or capture of guerrilla leaders, the seizure of weapons, or the recovery of mines. Information volunteered, and sums of money paid, would be treated entirely confidentially, it was stated.

#### Casualties in action

According to Press reports, by the beginning of 1974, 27 members of the Rhodesian security forces (including four members of the South African Police) had been killed in action. By 8 October, the total had risen to 55, including 14 S.A. policemen. Of the South Africans, four were shot in an ambush near the Victoria Falls during March. A fifth, Sergeant J. A. Kühn, was missing in this action.

Fatal casualties among Zanu and Zapu fighters were stated to have totalled 203 early in 1974, and at least 425 by mid-October.

#### Trials of men who were captured

The total number of guerrillas who have been captured in Rhodesia has not been disclosed; but from the beginning of 1974 to the end of September at least 31 trials were reported. Seventeen of the men convicted were sentenced to death, the rest receiving sentences ranging from five years for a man who failed to report the presence of terrorists to thirty years for men who were found guilty of sabotage or being in possession of arms of war.

The sentences of four juveniles who had been sentenced to death were commuted to life imprisonment. Eight men were executed during the first eight months of 1974.

#### Party politics in Rhodesia

In terms of the 1969 Constitution there are 50 seats in the Rhodesian Parliament that are contested by White voters, 8 contested by Africans who qualify for the vote, and 8 seats filled by Africans who are chosen by tribal electoral colleges, giving a total of 66. Africans will, in time, gain increased representation as more of them qualify for the franchise.

Africans have, for long, demanded far greater representation. In an endeavour to reach a settlement, during May Mr. Ian Smith had discussions with Bishop Abel Muzorewa, President of the African National Council. Mr. Smith is reported to have offered to give Africans an additional 6 seats immediately, making a total of 22 in an enlarged Parliament of 72 members. But the Central Committee of the ANC rejected this proposal, which would not have given Africans as many as the one-third of the total number of votes that is needed to block changes to the entrenched clauses of the Constitution.

The two main parties that contested the general election, held on 30 July, were the Rhodesian Front, led by Mr. Ian Smith, and the Rhodesian Party (said to consist of "progressive conservatives") led by Mr. Tim Gibbs. Mr. Smith's party won all of the 50 White seats. The ANC as such had decided not to contest any election held under the existing constitution, but seven of the eight elected African seats went to "unofficial" ANC candidates or supporters, the eighth being won by a member of the Centre Party.



There were reports that Mr. Smith intended convening a further constitutional conference with African leaders, but the ANC national executive announced that it would participate in such a conference only if the British Government were represented, and if African leaders who were in detention were allowed to be present: these included Mr. Joshua Nkomo of Zanu and the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole of Zanu, who had been detained for a number of years.

#### S.A. Police serving on the border

The U.N. Security Council debate on S.A., and President Kaunda's call on the Republic to withdraw its police from Rhodesia, are described in the chapter on Foreign Affairs. The Minister of Police announced on 29 October that in future only policemen volunteering for such duty would be sent to the border. This would automatically bring about a reduction over a period in the number of policemen doing border duty.

In a speech made in Nigel on 5 November, the Prime Minister said that the S.A. Police would remain in Rhodesia for as long as the terrorist threat to S.A. remained. They were there to protect S.A.'s interests, and not those of anyone else.

#### POLITICAL EVENTS IN PORTUGAL<sup>1</sup>

##### The old regime in Portugal

Between 1926 and 1974 the government of Portugal was an authoritarian one, led first by Dr. Antonio Salazar as Prime Minister and, since 1968, by Professor Marcello Caetano. There were no official political parties. In practice, people who stood for election to the National Assembly were candidates sponsored by an organization called National Popular Action, composed of people belonging to the regime. As the time for elections approached, other names might be suggested, but opposition was not organized because there was little freedom of expression. Newspapers were censored. Candidates other than those supported by National Popular Action generally withdrew, often because of lack of faith that elections would not be rigged. Opponents of the regime who were too outspoken might be exiled. There was widespread fear of arbitrary arrest and detention by the secret police, the DGS (Directorate General of Security), who were responsible only to the Prime Minister. (This force was still generally referred to by its previous name of Pide.) Trade unions were practically defunct.

Portugal and its overseas provinces were regarded as one entity. The provinces sent varying numbers of deputies to the National Assembly: of the 130 members of this body Angola and

<sup>1</sup> This chapter, too, is based on a very wide variety of official statements, authoritative articles, and news reports, making it impracticable to quote individual sources.

Mozambique sent seven each, Guinea-Bissau one, and Cape Verde two. However, this legislature was in session for only three months of each year. During the recess the president (Admiral Américo Tomás since 1958) had wide power to legislate by decree. He appointed the Prime Minister and, on the latter's advice, the other Cabinet Ministers. Legislative Assemblies in the provinces had limited powers, with no authority to legislate on any matter that might affect the sovereignty of the central government in Lisbon. National Popular Action dominated elections in the provinces as well as in metropolitan Portugal.

Portugal had been involved in wars against insurgent guerrilla forces in her overseas provinces in Africa since 1961, when there was an uprising in Angola. Violence erupted in Portuguese Guinea in 1963, and in Mozambique the following year. By the end of the 1960's Portugal was spending almost half of her annual budget on the conduct of wars against various rebel forces in these three territories. Taxation had been greatly increased. (A considerable proportion of the metropolitan budget, however, was derived from the overseas territories themselves.)

##### Abortive revolt in Lisbon

A book was published early in March entitled *Portugal and the Future*, written by General Antonio de Spínola, the Deputy Chief of the Portuguese Armed Forces. It was reported that within three weeks some 50 000 copies had been sold. The author expressed the view that in any war of the type in progress in the Portuguese provinces in Africa an exclusively military victory was not feasible. The rôle of the armed forces, he suggested, should be to create and preserve for the necessary time (not a very long period) the conditions of security that would make social and political solutions possible, with a view to ending the conflict. Portugal, he contended, was unable to sustain the wars either economically or in human terms. General De Spínola rejected any idea of pulling out of Africa, since this would mean abandoning the loyal Portuguese there. The choice, he said, was, thus, between a continued centralized form of government, or a decentralized federal system. He opted for the latter, giving the overseas provinces wide powers to solve their own problems, but keeping defence, foreign affairs, and finance in the hands of a simplified central government in Lisbon.

Some days after the publication of this book General De Spínola was dismissed from his post, as was his immediate superior, General Francisco da Costa Gomes, who had expressed agreement with his views.

On 17 March about 200 officers at an army garrison to the north of Lisbon attempted a march on the capital to demonstrate their support for General De Spínola. They were turned back by troops and police who threatened to open fire, and retreated to their garrison.

### Take-over of government by a military junta

It was announced on 25 April that at dawn that day members of the Armed Forces Movement (MFA) led by dissident young officers had seized control of Lisbon, occupying government buildings. There were no reports of armed resistance. Periodic radio bulletins were issued, during the course of which it was stated that after thirteen years of fighting in Africa the political system had still been unable to define a policy that would lead to peace between Portuguese people of all races and creeds. It was announced that a seven-man military junta, the "Junta of National Salvation", would be appointed by the MFA to take over the control of the country until free elections could be held, if possible within a year.

General De Spínola and General Da Costa Gomes were invited to join the Junta and they became its leader and deputy leader, respectively. Some of the members were men who had been exiled by the Caetano Government and who now returned. Most of them had served in the African wars.

Dr. Caetano, the President (Admiral Tomás), and Cabinet members presented their resignations to General De Spínola, and most of them were exiled.

There was public rejoicing in Portugal. The censorship of newspapers was lifted. All political prisoners were released; instead, many members of the DGS were arrested, this body being disbanded.

### Appointment of a provisional government

During May the Junta appointed a provisional government, with General De Spínola as President and General Da Costa Gomes as his deputy. There was a Cabinet of fifteen, prominent members being Professor A. da Palma Carlos (Prime Minister), Dr. Mario Soares (Foreign Minister), and Dr. Antonio de Almeida Santos (Minister of Inter-Territorial Co-Ordination). This government was a centre-left coalition one, with members drawn from the Democratic, Socialist, and Communist groups. It would work out a franchise system in preparation for elections to be held before the end of March 1975. At his formal installation as President, General De Spínola said that he and his colleagues wanted peace overseas, and wanted the future of the overseas territories to be decided by all those who declared these to be their homes.

A Council of State was also appointed, consisting of seven members of the Junta, seven of the MFA, and seven citizens appointed by the President. Its functions were to approve the actions of the provisional government and the president, and to ensure constitutional progress.

This system, with the division of control between various bodies and interests, led to confusion. The Prime Minister

resigned in July, on the ground that he had insufficient power to govern effectively. Four of the more conservative Cabinet Ministers resigned too. Members of the Cabinet were reported to have disagreed on economic policy and on the pace at which the overseas territories should be de-colonised. General De Spínola then dissolved the entire Cabinet.

The Junta appointed Brigadier Vasco Goncalves as Prime Minister. A new government was appointed consisting, altogether, of seven military officers and ten civilians, including the leaders of the socialist and communist groups. The previous Foreign Minister and the Minister of Inter-Territorial Co-Ordination were re-appointed to these offices.

In a TV broadcast President Spínola said, "The moment has arrived for the president of the Republic to reiterate solemnly the recognition of the right of the people of the Portuguese overseas territories to self-determination, including immediate recognition of their rights to independence."

During September, General De Spínola called upon what he termed the "silent majority" of conservatives to wake up and "defend the country against the danger of totalitarianism". A mass rally was planned in response. However, General De Spínola then gave way to left-wing pressure and had the rally cancelled. The Prime Minister made a broadcast speech alleging that forces of reaction had intended attacking the government. But the government was determined to carry out the programme of the Armed Forces Movement. Civil war must at all costs be avoided.

Next day, General De Spínola resigned. General Da Costa Gomes was appointed president in his stead. A number of the conservatives were arrested, and three of them on the Junta were replaced by MFA supporters.

### EVENTS IN MOZAMBIQUE

#### Fighting prior to the coup on 25 April

Frelimo (Front for the Liberation of Mozambique) was increasingly active in the field during the early part of 1974. From headquarters in Dar-es-Salaam its president, Mr. Samora Machel, directed trained fighters operating in Mozambique, either in small mobile bands or, if required, in larger forces. There were reported to have been more than 9 000 within the territory, with reserves located in Tanzania. They used sophisticated modern weapons, obtained mainly from Russia or China.

Portugal is stated to have had between 60 000 and 70 000 troops in Mozambique early in 1974, about two-thirds of these being local Africans and a considerable proportion of the rest conscripts from the metropolitan country.

According to various reports from official sources, during 1973 Frelimo killed 258 African civilians and injured 554. More than two-thirds of the casualties were caused by landmines laid on

paths near African villages. Reliable accounts of the Frelimo casualties are not available.

Early in 1974 there were a number of attacks on the railway line running from Beira north-west to Tete (near the Cabora Bassa Dam), with a branch line to Malawi. In January a goods train returning from Tete was derailed by a landmine, and a pumping station blown up. During the following month six rail tankers of one train were derailed, and two engines and twelve trucks of another, killing one man and injuring seven. Guerrillas machine-gunned two trains: eight people were killed and eleven wounded in these attacks. Three people died and two were seriously injured in ambushes near Inhaminga, a small town on the railway line, about 180 km to the north of Beira.

There was serious disquiet among the residents of Inhaminga. On 26 February the wives of railway workers there formed a human barrier across the line, consenting to move only when a senior official assured them that action would be taken to make conditions safer. For some days both passenger and goods traffic was suspended. Trains were armour-plated. Bridges were guarded, and armed troops travelled on the trains. It was reported that goods piled up at Beira, seriously inconveniencing Malawi.

In March troops detected and neutralized a mine that had been placed on the line; but two weeks later a mixed passenger-goods train was raked with machine-gun fire about 4 km south of Inhaminga, in bush country. An African was killed and six other passengers wounded.

At the end of 1973 Frelimo penetrated for the first time as far south as the railway line and road that run close to one another linking Beira with Rhodesia. On New Year's Eve the engine and five coaches of a passenger train were derailed by a landmine 36 km from the Rhodesian border, near Vila de Manica. A repair train going to the rescue was attacked with automatic fire, killing a Portuguese army officer. Security forces tracked the guerrillas, killing one and wounding two.

During January a passenger-goods train set off a mine about half-way between Beira and Umtali. The train was not derailed, but one African was reported killed. Shortly afterwards a diesel railcar was blasted off the tracks, killing two crewmen and seriously injuring the third. Night passenger services on this line were cancelled early in February, the schedule being rearranged to allow for travel during daylight hours when troops could watch out for trouble. But a fortnight later a section of the line was blown up 18 km from the Rhodesian border, causing the derailment of a goods train.

Another new development in 1974 was a series of attacks on the farms of Whites. The first took place on 16 January, at a farm near the Rhodesian road, close to the border. The farmer and one son, apparently not at the farmhouse at the time, managed to

escape, but the farmer's wife was bayoneted to death and another son wounded. It was reported that five men, suspected of having been responsible for the attack, were captured by security forces. Nevertheless, the occurrence caused considerable unease. Several farmers sent their families to live in towns. Troops were sent to help guard the farms, and arms were issued to farmers. There was a sharp decrease in the civilian traffic along the main road. Residents of Beira staged demonstrations demanding tighter security measures.

Another farm in the same area was attacked during March. A farm-worker was wounded. The vehicle taking him to hospital struck a landmine, resulting in the death of one man and injuries to a second. Later that month there was an attack on a farm a little further to the east. As it happened, the farmer and his family were away, spending the night in a town nearby for security reasons.

In April, guerrillas penetrated still further south, to the dense bush area along a section of the main road from Beira to Lourenço Marques. The area is sparsely populated. On 23 April shots were fired at lorries travelling to Lourenço Marques, three drivers being killed.

#### Repercussions in Mozambique of the Portuguese coup

Two days after the take-over by the Junta in Portugal it was announced that the Governors-General and district governors in Mozambique and the other Portuguese provinces in Africa had been dismissed and, as an interim measure, replaced by army officers. The Legislative Assemblies were prorogued.

The armed forces in Mozambique declared, in a military communique, that they were totally and unconditionally at the service of the Junta of National Salvation.

Large numbers of political prisoners, estimated at more than a thousand, were released from various prisons. Many leading members of the former DGS were arrested and imprisoned, instead.

There was a rapid proliferation of political parties and groups, some of which dissolved equally rapidly. General Gomes is said to have remarked that the people were experiencing "sudden decompression". A few of the more significant of the new groups appeared to be as described below.

- (a) The Democrats of Mozambique were a group of mainly academics working for social reform on liberal lines. White-led, but with intellectual Black members. Lawyers belonging to this group undertook an investigation into allegations by former prisoners of torture and brutality at the hands of the DGS. Unsuccessful attempts were made by unspecified right-wing groups on the lives of two of the leaders of the Democrats.

- (b) GUMO (Group for the Unity of Mozambique) was a non-racial body, in practice Black-dominated. It stood for putting an end to the fighting, and achieving independence for Mozambique and peaceful co-existence on a non-racial basis. By July, GUMO had disbanded because the more left-wing of its leaders feared that its continued existence might undermine efforts by Frelimo to secure a political agreement with Lisbon. Other members allied themselves, instead, with what for a time was called a National Coalition Party, composed of various groups which opposed a transfer of political power to Frelimo without any general consultation or referendum.
- (c) Frelimo supporters came out into the open, especially in Lourenço Marques, as this movement gained increasing military success and it became clear that Lisbon was prepared to negotiate with its leaders. At the time of writing it is not yet clear to what extent Frelimo has the allegiance of Africans against whom it fought for many years.
- (d) The word FICO (Front for Independence and Western Continuity) meant "I stay" in Portuguese. Members were mainly right-wing White landowners, businessmen, and ex-soldiers. They acknowledged that multi-racialism, power-sharing with Blacks, and the recognition of Frelimo were essential, but considered that all the peoples of Mozambique should have a voice in deciding the future of the country. They favoured the continuance of strong links with South Africa.
- (e) Two White organizations on the extreme right were AMA (the Armed Mozambican Action Group) and/or the "Dragons of Death". It was not clear, from public reports, whether or not it was these groups who were responsible for the attacks on Democrat leaders, for firing shots at the headquarters of a university students' association, for the explosion of small bombs at various points in Lourenço Marques and Inhalinga, and for certain acts of sabotage that were initially attributed to Frelimo. These events took place in June and July.
- Between May and September there was a continuing wave of labour strikes in Mozambique, perhaps the most serious for the country's economy being among dockworkers at the ports.

#### Initial consideration of the future of the African territories

Early in May the Portuguese deputy-leader, General Costa Gomes, visited Angola and Mozambique. According to various reports, he told Press conferences that, while immediate independence was impossible, the Junta invited all groups including communists, socialists, and Frelimo, to come into the open in peace to begin legal political activity to determine the future of the territories. There would be freedom of choice, but the Junta hoped that the territories would decide on a future

within the framework of a greater Portugal. Should insurgent groups reject the offer to enter into peaceful negotiations, General Gomes said, the army would have no choice but to fight back with, perhaps, increased intensity.

Speaking to senior army officers at Nampula in northern Mozambique on 12 May, General Gomes is reported to have said that some people had misinterpreted statements by the Junta as meaning that insurgent groups had to lay down their arms before the Portuguese authorities would negotiate with them. That was a wrong interpretation, he emphasised, for it could be deduced that the rebels had to accept the status of defeat before discussions could take place.

According to reports, General Gomes continued, "If they have used their weapons in the sincere conviction that it was the only way to defend the people of Mozambique against the unrealistic consequences of the previous regime's policies, then it is almost certain that we shall have peace—that, from being adversaries we shall come to regard them as partners in the task of the political development of a people which must have self-determination." However, if the rebels rejected the sincerity of Portugal's offer, he believed that the army and the Portuguese people would choose to continue fighting in order to safeguard Mozambique.

Whites of the right wing were perturbed by these statements, and also by certain events in the territory. A few days earlier, Africans in Lourenço Marques had taken over control of a very large political rally called by GUMO, and had expressed open support for Frelimo. On the day of General Gomes's speech in Nampula there had been clashes in Beira, when Whites retaliated after Blacks had overturned a car with White passengers in it.

General Gomes returned to Beira on the evening of his speech. The Governor's residence, where he was staying, was, according to reports, besieged by about two thousand angry Whites, who shouted anti-Frelimo and anti-GUMU slogans and demanded arms. General Gomes spoke to them through a loud-speaker. He warned extremists that the police and armed forces would act against trouble-makers of any group. He also warned White extremists in Mozambique and Angola that any move towards a unilateral declaration of independence in either territory had no hope of success.

Later in May the Minister of Inter-Territorial Co-Ordination, Dr. De Almeida Santos, visited Mozambique. He is reported to have said at a Press conference that a national referendum to decide the future of the territory would be held within a year, on the basis of one-man-one-vote.<sup>1</sup> (He added later that no timetable for actual constitutional changes had been offered.) Dr. Santos

<sup>1</sup> There were roughly 8,500,000 Blacks and between 220,000 and 250,000 Whites in Mozambique.

stated that a new interim government was to be appointed for Mozambique. He would like to see all ethnic groups represented; but ability would be the basis upon which the government would be chosen.

It was reported that considerable numbers of Whites began leaving Mozambique for metropolitan Portugal or Brazil.

During General Gomes's visit in May a spokesman for Frelimo said in Dar-es-Salaam that the war would end only when the military Junta understood the right of the people of Mozambique to independence. In a Radio Tanzania broadcast later that month the Frelimo president, Mr. Samora Machel, is reported to have said, "Independence for Mozambique is not negotiable. What can be negotiated is the means to independence". Mr. Machel declared that it was not Frelimo's policy to attain independence with the object of throwing Whites out of the country. The organization wanted all the people of Mozambique to live in freedom.

In another broadcast, Mr. Machel stated that he had told Frelimo members to step up the fight and to extend it to new areas of the country. There would be no peace until colonialism and imperialism were defeated and national independence achieved, he said.

The other insurgent group, Coremo (The Committee for Revolution in Mozambique) had been dormant for some time. Its leaders are said to have accepted the offer to come into the open and operate as a political party, but the organization disintegrated.

#### Intensified military action by Frelimo

As ordered by Mr. Machel, Frelimo stepped up its military activities, presumably in order to be able to negotiate from a position of strength.

There were further attacks on and near the railway line running north from Beira. On 9 May, five guerrillas were seen triggering off landmines, which derailed seventeen trucks of a goods train. Three people were injured. In that locality, on the same day, a mail train was raked with machine-gun fire, killing a Coloured woman and severely wounding a number of other passengers. Three days later the engine and three trucks of another train were derailed by a landmine explosion, causing injuries to three men. Again the wives of railwaymen, this time in the Tete area, formed a human barrier across the line, demanding better measures to protect their menfolk.

On 21 May fifteen trucks of a Beira-bound goods train were derailed, wreckage being scattered over the buckled track for more than a kilometre. A week later guerrillas machine-gunned a mail train, but the shots were deflected by armour-plating.

During June, a long length of track was blown up just before a goods train was due to pass; the engine and five trucks of another

goods train were derailed, badly injuring four men; three men engaged on repairing the track were critically wounded by the explosion of anti-personnel mines; a mail train was machine-gunned, wounding four passengers; and a long length of track was again blown up. A railway town and military garrison was bombarded. On two occasions railwaymen went on strike, insisting on better protection. Steam locomotives were then replaced by diesels.

In July, August, and September stretches of the railway line were blown up on at least twelve separate occasions. One train was derailed and two raked with machine gun fire, killing two men and wounding seven. A soldier on guard duty was killed and two others wounded.

Further attacks took place along the road linking Beira with Rhodesia. A bus was ambushed on 16 May, three people being killed. There were three ambushes on 21 and 22 May. A private motorist with a machine gun managed to fight off his attackers. But a soldier was killed when shots were fired at a patrol vehicle. A gang opened fire on a car in which six officials were travelling, killing three of them and wounding the others. Three men were killed and one wounded in ambushes during July.

Stretches of the Beira—Umtali railway line were blown up on four occasions in July and August, on each occasion derailing a locomotive and several trucks. Insurgents fired on one of the wrecked trains. Goods piled up at Beira and along the line. For a period the Rhodesia Railways refused to accept either goods or passenger traffic.

A fully-loaded bus travelling from Beira via Inchope to Lourenço Marques was raked with automatic fire on 9 May, caught alight, and plunged out of control down a hill. Six Africans died of wounds or in the blaze, and about 25 were taken to hospital. It was decided by the authorities that traffic along this road would travel in armed convoys.

Guerrillas shot and killed a White farmer on his land at Gondola, to the north-west of Beira, on 13 May. A few days later another farmer was reported missing. His tractor was found on fire.

Between May and July there were attacks on at least thirty aldeamentos (protected African villages), huts being destroyed and numbers of inhabitants killed, injured, maimed, or captured. Several tribal chiefs and African farmers were murdered, and other people were killed or wounded in ambushes or landmine explosions.

Shots were fired at military barracks at Vila Gouveia, to the north-west of Beira, but the attackers were repulsed. Guerrillas swept through a camp in the Gorongosa national park, firing and throwing grenades. Two African guards were wounded. Four villages were attacked, resulting in at least four civilian deaths.

Three of these villages were in the narrowest, central part of the territory to the north of Beira, stretching inland past the southernmost corner of Malawi and the railway line to Tete. The most severe of these attacks, sustained for three days, was on the village of Morrumbala. It was reported that more than 130 Whites panicked and fled, some being airlifted out, and that paratroopers were flown in to reinforce the local garrison. An army patrol operating in this central area was ambushed, three soldiers being killed and five badly wounded. Two sawmills were wrecked. A number of White storekeepers and farmers fled.

In June there was a rocket attack on an army base at Mueda, near the Tanzanian border in the northern Cabo Delgado district. The Portuguese authorities announced shortly afterwards that various army garrisons were being withdrawn from the northern and north-eastern borders, the troops being redeployed further south. The garrisons there had been under heavy attack, and men were killed almost every time convoys with supplies travelled along the mined and ambushed roads in the area.

There were reports that some of the men in these garrisons had refused to continue fighting. Some Black soldiers stationed at a post in the north-east were stated to have defected to Frelimo. Morale in the army was said to be deteriorating. Conscripts from Portugal and local Africans were refusing to go into action, as peace negotiations appeared to be imminent. Some 2 000 "rookies" sent to the army headquarters at Nampula refused to leave their barracks. A number of troops at a post in the central part of the territory deserted to join Frelimo. At various garrisons there was fraternisation between Portuguese soldiers and Frelimo fighters: all the defenders at one army post were tricked into surrendering, having been told that an official cease-fire had been declared.

During this stage of uncertainty, roving groups of African "bandits"—possibly Army deserters—attacked a number of White-owned farms, villages, and a fishing settlement, doing considerable damage. Some of the Whites fled. White farmers are said to have appealed to Mr. Samora Machel, urging that Frelimo should protect them. Such protection was promised by local Frelimo commanders in several areas.

#### Negotiations for a settlement

It was announced during June that the Portuguese Foreign Minister was to meet Mr. Machel to discuss the future of Mozambique. In a speech made in Lisbon President De Spínola is reported to have said that independence could come only as a result of a democratic process. Any ceasefire agreement would by no means imply the recognition of any particular nationalist movement as being representative of the country generally. The basis for de-colonisation must be a ceasefire and the establishment

of peace, reconstruction and economic development, and the creation of democratic systems.

At an OAU summit meeting in Mogadishu, however, Mr. Machel said that agreement could be reached only when Lisbon publicly recognized Mozambique's right to total and absolute independence, and acknowledged Frelimo to be the legitimate voice of the people of the territory. He was prepared to negotiate only on the method to be adopted for the transfer of political power.

Meanwhile, in Mozambique, a *de facto*, unofficial ceasefire was gradually brought about. Whites in the Tete area entertained a large Frelimo group, and Frelimo held meetings in the area assuring civilians that they had nothing to fear. Portuguese troops and Frelimo fighters began removing landmines from paths and roads around the town. A crowd estimated at 10 000, more than 1 000 of them White, attended a meeting in Lourenço Marques at which pro-Frelimo speakers talked about the future of the territory. It was stated that Frelimo wanted everyone to stay. Its struggle had not been against the Whites, but against colonialism. A leading spokesman for the Democrats of Mozambique associated himself with Frelimo: the Democrats had backed the introduction of Frelimo rule, especially after some of its members had been to Dar-es-Salaam for discussions with Mr. Machel.

But by no means all the Whites shared these views. It was reported that many were leaving the country, by sea and air.

#### Agreement reached between Portugal and Frelimo

On 7 September the Portuguese Minister without Portfolio met Mr. Machel in Lusaka, and an agreement was issued, signed by the Minister as representing the Portuguese Government, and by Mr. Machel as the representative of the Mozambique Liberation Front. An immediate ceasefire was decided upon.

The agreement stated that Mozambique would become completely independent on 25 June 1975. During the transitional period there would be a High Commissioner appointed by the Portuguese President, and a transitional government consisting of a Prime Minister appointed by the Mozambique Liberation Front (MLF), six Ministers appointed by this Front, and three Ministers appointed by the High Commissioner.

A military commission would be established, consisting of equal numbers of representatives of the Portuguese armed forces and the MLF. Should any serious disruption of the public order require intervention by the armed forces, the command and co-ordination would be entrusted to the High Commissioner assisted by the Prime Minister. The Portuguese State and the MLF would act jointly, if necessary, in the defence of the territorial integrity of Mozambique against aggression.

The MLF and the Portuguese State solemnly declared their aim to establish and develop links of friendship and constructive co-operation between their respective peoples in all fields. They undertook to act jointly in order to eliminate all vestiges of colonialism and to create true harmony, on the principle of non-discrimination on grounds of race, ethnicity, religion, or sex.

The MLF declared its readiness to accept responsibility for financial obligations undertaken by the Portuguese State in the name of Mozambique, provided that those obligations had been undertaken in the effective interest of the territory. A central bank would be created in Mozambique.

#### Reactions and rioting in Mozambique

The publication of this agreement caused much rejoicing among Frelimo members and supporters in Mozambique, notably in Lourenço Marques. Mass rallies were held by triumphant people. The Democrats of Mozambique movement decided to disband.

Many of the Whites, however, were embittered because Portugal had not honoured its original statement that a national referendum would be held to decide the future of the territory, and that a ceasefire agreement would not imply the recognition of any particular nationalist movement as being representative of the country generally.

Whites of the right-wing groups were incensed at what they considered to be a precipitate handover to Frelimo. They continued to maintain that all the peoples of the territory should have a voice in deciding its future. Many were resentful of the exultant attitude among Blacks, and feared for their own future. Some said to have been members of Fico and/or the "Dragons of Death", apparently began planning an armed uprising, or even a UDI.

In this atmosphere of tension, a minor incident on 7 September touched off mob reaction and led to four days of serious rioting. White citizens of extreme right-wing views, who, apparently almost on the spur of the moment adopted the name "Movement to Free Mozambique" (MFM), stormed through the central part of Lourenço Marques smashing up the offices of organizations considered by them to be supporters or sympathisers of Frelimo, including those of newspapers and the university students' association. An army ammunition dump outside the city was blown up. A group entered the central prison and freed about 200 members of the DGS who had been jailed after the coup. Led by the head of FICO, armed men seized the Radio Club and began broadcasting messages calling on the people to resist a Frelimo take-over of the country. False claims were, apparently, made about the extent of support that the rebels possessed. The people of the city were urged to show their solidarity by assembling in the

main square nearby: apparently about 10 000 did, mainly Whites (the total White population of Lourenço Marques numbered some 120 000). Women and children were positioned in front of the Radio Club building to deter the police from attacking it. For a time the airport control tower, too, was occupied by the rebels.

The army and police are said to have done all they could to avoid bloodshed, shooting, if this appeared necessary, over people's heads. After some three days the crowds dispersed, and troops persuaded the MFM to evacuate the Radio Club building.

It was reported, however, that about a hundred armed White ex-commandos had made a number of sorties into the canhicos (African shanty suburbs ringing the town), shooting indiscriminately, throwing hand grenades, and killing and wounding a number of people. Many Africans fled to outlying villages. Incensed by this and by the general attitudes of Whites, Africans retaliated by hurling stones at cars driven by Whites, overturning some of them and setting them alight. Violence erupted in areas where Whites and Blacks lived intermingled, homes being ransacked, and stores looted. Many people lost their lives. White residents panicked, large numbers fleeing to the centre of the city. Gunfire was heard in many outlying areas. It is said that Whites on isolated farms were attacked. Africans set up road blocks and searched cars for arms.

After four days the rioting died down. Army re-inforcements, followed by Frelimo troops, arrived by air and sea to help to restore order.

It was officially announced on 21 September that 115 people had been killed (93 Africans, 20 Whites, and 2 Coloured), and 529 had been injured. At one stage, as bodies piled up, a bulldozer was used to scrape a mass grave.

Further rioting took place during October. There was serious fighting in the centre of the city between Portuguese commandos and Frelimo soldiers, apparently provoked by the commandos. Some of the latter, accompanied by White civilians, are reported then to have entered the African suburbs, shooting indiscriminately. The Africans retaliated, killing and injuring a number of Whites. It was stated that at least 44 people were killed and 88 badly injured.

About 240 of the commandos who had been involved were flown back to Portugal and, apparently, imprisoned there. Several hundred people, mainly Africans, were arrested on charges of having disturbed order and stability. Many more Whites decided to leave the country.

#### Situation in Beira

Some disorder took place in Beira, but on a far smaller scale than in Lourenço Marques. A crowd of between two and three thousand, nearly all Whites, occupied the main city square for



some hours. A hand grenade was flung at a Government-sponsored bank the employees of which had made known their support for Frelimo. Troops used tear-gas to disperse demonstrators, and guarded the radio station and other key positions. A few people were injured and a policeman killed.

#### Refugees from Mozambique

It was estimated that considerably more than a thousand people, almost all Whites, poured into South Africa, coming from Mozambique by rail, by road, or crossing mountain passes. Some had abandoned their vehicles and continued on foot. Many were destitute. Others went by sea to Durban.

For a couple of weeks the S.A. authorities waived border formalities. Large numbers of the refugees went to stay with relatives or friends. With the assistance of several local authorities, the Department of Social Welfare provided temporary emergency accommodation for the others, and established a refugee relief fund.

All of those who had come to S.A. were required to register, however, and on 16 September it was announced that immigration requirements would not be relaxed. Residence and work permits would be granted only to those who were likely to make useful contributions to the country's wellbeing, and certainly not to unskilled persons. A little later, on 30 September, the Minister of the Interior stated that further persons entering the Republic without the necessary travel documents would expose themselves to prosecution and removal. A spokesman for the Portuguese Embassy stated that refugees who refused to return to Mozambique and were not accepted by S.A. would have to be sent to Portugal at the Lisbon Government's expense. A senior representative of the new regime established in Mozambique said that the leaders of the right-wing MFM were criminals, and those of them who had not fled the country would be brought before the courts. But people who had thrown in their support in an emotive situation, and innocent refugees who had left in panic, would have nothing to fear.

Other refugees went to Swaziland or Rhodesia.

#### The new regime in Mozambique

The Portuguese President appointed Admiral Vitor Crespo to be High Commissioner in Mozambique.

On 16 September delegations from Frelimo, the Tanzanian Government, and the OAU flew into Lourenco Marques. It was announced a few days later that the Prime Minister was to be Mr. Joaquim A. Chissano, the third-ranking Frelimo leader. Four Whites were included in his Cabinet.

Mr. Machel, who was expected to become President after independence, announced that the transitional government would

have to tackle the country's financial crisis, the wide-spread poverty, and the lack of housing. Frelimo's ideology would be promoted through the schools and by party committees to be formed in factories and offices: superstition, individualism, and selfish ambition would be combated. People should not expect instant wage increases, and strikes had no place in the new Mozambique. All of those who lived from honest work, including the majority of the White population, would have a part to play in the country's future.

#### Foreign policy

Mr. Vorster has repeatedly stressed that S.A.'s policy is one of non-interference in the domestic affairs of neighbouring states. In the Assembly on 30 August<sup>1</sup> he said that it was not for S.A. to lay down what kind of government should be established in Mozambique. The necessary liaison had been maintained "with those with whom it had to be maintained." S. A. was interested only in seeing a sound and stable government in Mozambique, and would co-operate with any such government.

Mr. Chissano stated that the foreign policy of his interim government would be based on the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other countries. It would maintain existing friendly relations, and hoped to increase them.

Matters that will have to be settled between S.A. and Mozambique include the recruitment of labour for the Republic's gold mines, and the future sale of power from the Cabora Bassa hydro-electric scheme.

In a speech made in Nigel on 5 November, Mr. Vorster said that S.A. had received assurances in regard to these matters. It had also received assurances that Mozambique would not be used as a launching pad for people wanting to sabotage S.A.

#### EVENTS IN ANGOLA

##### Military action prior to the coup in Lisbon

Angola has a population of roughly 5½ to 6 million Africans and half a million Whites. In recent years nearly 70 000 Portuguese troops, nearly half of them Africans, have been opposing, possibly, up to 11 000 guerrilla fighters, of whom about 6 000 were in camps across the borders, mainly in Zaire, but some being in Zambia or the Congo (Brazzaville).

As indicated in the 1973 *Survey*, guerrilla activities in Angola lost momentum some two years or more ago. One reason has been the decreased local African support because of large-scale economic development, raising general standards of living very considerably. Another reason is the vast size of the territory and its

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* 4 cols. 1857-60.



underpopulation in the north and east, where the guerrillas were operating. The wars devolved into mainly policing action from a ring of military camps, with sporadic clashes only.

A third and highly significant reason has been the deep divisions between and within the insurgent groups, because of personality problems and differences in policy. The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), whose main leader is Dr. Agostinho Neto, split into three factions, with a few fighters in the territory itself but most of the supporters in either Brazzaville or Zambia. Its only reported military action in 1974 was an abortive attack on two trains.

The most significant group militarily has been Mr. Holden Roberto's Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), with headquarters in Kinshasa (Zaire). About 170 of its fighters penetrated Angola in July, but were pinned down by paratroopers who inflicted a number of casualties. Other fighters ambushed supply convoys heading for army garrisons, killing and wounding a few of the soldiers. Three Army helicopters are stated to have been shot down.

The smallest but probably most active group has been the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), led by Dr. Jonas Savimbi, based in Angola itself with reserves in Zambia. Between May and July its fighters ambushed several military convoys, killing almost 70 soldiers. UNITA as well as the other groups refrained from attacking the Benguela railway line as this would have prejudiced the economic interests of Zaire and Zambia.

#### Events following the coup

After the Portuguese coup on 25 April the Governor General and district governors were deposed and replaced temporarily by a military junta. Peace negotiations were commenced. More than 2 000 political prisoners were released: many told of atrocities at the hands of the DGS. As in Mozambique, a number of political parties sprang into being.

The Junta in Lisbon announced in August that the first requisite for a peaceful future for the territory was a ceasefire agreement. Portugal would then set up a provisional government representative of all racial groups, the viable political parties, and the liberation movements. Arrangements would be made for the election within two years of a constitutional assembly. As soon as this body had agreed upon a new constitution, general elections would be held.

Dr. Savimbi of UNITA agreed to call a ceasefire and to participate in negotiations leading to a share in government by all groups. He had considerable support among Africans who had not previously played an active part in politics, and is a member of the Ovimbundu tribe, stated to constitute about 38 per cent of the

population. Partly through the distribution of leaflets, he launched a political campaign against MPLA and FNLA guerrillas, who accused him of being a traitor to the Black cause. Whites began to give him moral support.

Dr. Agostinho Neto of MPLA stated that he had no intention of stopping the fighting before Portugal recognized the people's right to full independence. Not all of the members of his Movement agreed: reports stated that some of them, near the Zambia border, held unofficial talks with Portuguese Army field units. MPLA supporters came out into the open in the main city of Luanda, where a political action committee was set up and spokesmen, some of them ex-political detainees, tended to follow Dr. Neto's line.

Members of FNLA, as of MPLA, appeared to be divided in their opinions, but at the time, most of the leaders appeared to agree with Dr. Neto's attitude.

The OAU appointed the presidents of the Congo, Zaire, Zambia, and Tanzania to try to reconcile the views of the various movements and the differences within the MPLA. They called a meeting of MPLA and FNLA leaders (UNITA was not represented), after which a communiqué was issued stating that the MPLA would hold a conference to try to resolve internal divisions. Thereafter, MPLA and FNLA would establish a common front to negotiate Angola's full independence from Portugal.

Meanwhile, tensions had been building up in Luanda between Black and White extremists, and between factions of MPLA and FNLA. It was reported on 27 May that, during a visit by the Portuguese Minister of Inter-Territorial Co-ordination to discuss the future of Angola, a mass gathering of Africans demanded immediate full independence under the leadership of ex-guerrilla fighters. There was some violence, cars being stoned. A large crowd of Whites staged a counter-demonstration. Over the weeks that followed and until early August there were sporadic outbursts of violence. A night curfew was imposed during the worst periods of tension. Troops were flown from Portugal to help the local forces to restore order. The casualty roll was reported to have totalled about 20 killed and 150 wounded, mostly Blacks. As in Mozambique, considerable numbers of Whites left the territory.

A further cause for dissension has been over the future of the small oil-producing enclave of Cabinda, to the north, which Portugal included for administrative purposes in the overseas province of Angola. It is reported that the neighbouring Zaire and Congo-Brazzaville both covet this area, but that two groups of people from Cabinda (one of them in exile in Zaire) have been pressing for independence, separately from Angola.

Among the political parties that have survived in Angola since the days of confusion in April and May is the Christian

Democratic Party of Angola (PCDA). It was reported from Luanda on 28 October that the military junta had foiled an attempted UDI by White extremists, most of them being members of this party. Another report termed the White extremists the FRA (Front for Armed Resistance).

A second group is the United Front for Angola (FUA) which, before it was launched as a political party in about August, was popularly known as a "Fourth Force", counter-balancing the three liberation movements. It is headed by a White engineer, Mr. Fernando Falcao, and has a policy of multi-racialism and a political system that will avoid dominance by any one group.

During August the President of the controlling Junta formed a provisional government for Angola, headed by himself. Vacancies were left open for liberation movement leaders who support democratic government. One of the senior posts went to Mr. Falcao. His FUA had challenged the Junta to state squarely whether Whites would have a say in the territory's political future, or whether the liberation movements only would be consulted.

Several leading political figures, including Mr. Falcao, were invited to Lisbon in September for direct discussions with President De Spínola, prior to the granting of local autonomy to the provisional government. At this stage, however, General De Spínola resigned from the presidency.

Meanwhile, a large FNLA force had penetrated peacefully into the coffee-growing district to the west of Luanda, appearing to have agreed with the army and civil authorities on an unofficial cease-fire, and with MPLA leaders on forming a common front for negotiations.

During October, both FNLA and the MPLA agreed to an official cease-fire. Representatives of the various liberation movements (including rival MPLA factions) went to Luanda. Serious clashes between supporters of different groups took place in this city in mid-November, about a hundred people being killed.

#### EVENTS IN GUINEA-BISSAU

Guinea-Bissau is a small country on the coast of the western "bulge" of N. Africa, situated between Senegal and Guinea-Conakry. According to various reports, some 2 000 Portuguese businessmen and their families lived there among approximately 600 000 Africans. The previous regime in Portugal defended the territory with about 30 000 to 36 000 troops, one third or more being local Africans, against Mr. Luis Cabral's African Party for Independence for Guinea and Cabo Verde (PAIGC).

In mid-1973, the PAIGC set up a council of state which declared to be the government of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. It claimed to be in control of two-thirds or more of the territory.

Rapidly increasing numbers of states recognized this government as being the *de facto* one.

Fighting continued during the first four months of 1974, with fairly heavy casualties on both sides. However, following the coup in Lisbon soldiers from both forces appeared ready to lay down their arms with little delay, and fraternization soon took place.

The PAIGC announced that it was prepared to negotiate with the new Portuguese regime provided that there was advance recognition of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and of the right of its people and those of the Cape Verde Islands and Mozambique and Angola to self-determination and independence.

The future of the Cape Verde Islands proved to be one of the most difficult matters on which to reach agreement. The people of these Islands are of mixed Portuguese and African descent, speak Creole, and are more westernized than the inhabitants of Guinea. Apparently far from all of them wanted to fall under PAIGC rule. And there were further considerations. The Islands are of strategic importance to the West, being situated on shipping lanes. On one of them, named Sal, an airfield has been constructed to facilitate "round the bulge" flights by the S.A. Airways and Portugal's TAP airline.

At the end of May the new Portuguese Foreign Minister and its Minister of Inter-Territorial Co-ordination held talks in London with a PAIGC delegation led by Major Pedro Pires. After a week these discussions were suspended to allow both sides to consult their heads of state. Negotiations were continued in Algiers during June, but again broke down temporarily.

On 26 August, however, agreement was reached at a further meeting in Algiers. A joint statement was issued declaring that Portugal would formally recognise the independence of the (PAIGC) Republic of Guinea-Bissau as from 10 September, and would withdraw all Portuguese forces from this country by the end of the following month. There would be an immediate cease-fire. The two countries would establish full diplomatic relations and would co-operate with one another in every way.

Portugal pledged itself to hold a referendum on the Cape Verde Islands at an unspecified date, to enable the people of these Islands to express their own views about their political future.

## FOREIGN AFFAIRS

### GENERAL

Speaking during the Budget Debate on his vote in September, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. H. Muller, said that while the Opposition created the impression that S.A. was almost totally isolated this was surely totally unfounded. He admitted that "isolation is a threat to us. It is the objective of our enemies. I want to admit at once that they have succeeded in isolating South Africa in some respects. But in most spheres, in the important spheres, their attempts have failed". The Minister pointed to the extension of the Republic's international trade in spite of attempts and resolutions aimed at boycott, as an example.<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Muller told the House of Assembly that S.A. was represented at Embassy level in 26 countries and at Legation level in a further two, while there was reciprocal diplomatic representation with Rhodesia. Twenty-one countries were represented at Embassy level in the Republic with a further two being represented at Legation level.<sup>2</sup>

A decision was taken by the Government to train citizens of the Transkei and Indian and Coloured people for the diplomatic and information services.<sup>3</sup> The Minister of Information announced later that Black information officers were to be appointed to the information service in New York, London, Cologne and Paris.<sup>4</sup>

### THE UNITED NATIONS

Events in the UN dealing with South West Africa (Namibia) and guerrilla movements are covered in the relevant sections of this Survey.

In May the UN Special Committee on Apartheid began a series of meetings in Dublin, Rome, East Berlin and Geneva, aimed at "concerted international action to eradicate apartheid".<sup>5</sup>

Shortly before leaving S.A. for New York, the S.A. Minister of Foreign Affairs told Parliament that the UN often passed resolutions, particularly insofar as S.A. was concerned, which contained veiled exhortations for the use of force and violence to overthrow lawfully constituted Governments. He said that the picture at the UN was certainly not rosy for S.A. and pointed out that in 1973 twelve per cent of the 151 resolutions adopted by the General Assembly had contained attacks on the Republic. The Minister went

<sup>1</sup> Hansard 6 col. 2629, 11 September.  
<sup>2</sup> Hansard 6 cols. 401-406, 10 September.  
<sup>3</sup> Hansard 6 col. 2588, 10 September.  
<sup>4</sup> Hansard 9 cols. 4234-5, 2 October.  
<sup>5</sup> *Sun.*, 17 May.

on to say that a question mark arose about the future and the coming session in particular, for despite S.A.'s desire to co-operate with the UN, there were limits beyond which she was not prepared to go.<sup>2</sup> The Government announced that its delegation to the forthcoming session of the General Assembly would include as observers, the Chief Minister of the Transkei, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, the prominent Coloured educationist, Mr. Daniel Ulster, and Dr. M. B. Naidoo, a member of the executive committee of the S.A. Indian Council.<sup>3</sup>

In New York the president of the UN General Assembly, Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika of Algeria, felt that developments in S.A., including the additions to the UN delegation, would not lead African states to a "naïve optimism". He said: "What is perfectly clear is that the decolonisation of the last African territory under colonial domination rings a qualitative change on the scale of the continent which will not fail to have repercussions. The policy of segregation, which marks in an indelible fashion the southern part of our continent, is a shameful brand for the rest of humanity." Mr. Bouteflika believed that "Africa belongs to the Africans without distinction of race or religion".<sup>4</sup>

In an address to the General Assembly the Portuguese Foreign Minister, Dr. Mario Soares, expressed the change in Portugal's attitude towards S.A. in the following terms: "The Portuguese Government declares itself against all forms of oppression and racial discrimination and, although it adheres to the fundamental norm of non-interference in the affairs of other states, it cannot but condemn the existence and perpetuation of discriminatory social systems such as apartheid."<sup>5</sup>

The UN special political committee granted observer status to the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress, while the African group at the UN launched a move to challenge S.A.'s credentials.<sup>6</sup> The General Assembly rejected the credentials of the S.A. delegation and asked the Security Council to rule on her standing with the UN by a vote of 98 to 23 with 14 abstentions. A call for the General Assembly to "review the relationship between the United Nations and South Africa in the light of the constant violation by South Africa of the principle of the charter and the universal declaration of human rights" was adopted by 125 votes to South Africa's one, with nine abstentions.<sup>7</sup>

The Portuguese delegate to the UN, Dr. Francisco Ramos da Costa, attacked "apartheid as practised, apartheid as policy and apartheid as principle" in the special political committee. He declared: "We are happy to be able to erase the shame which con-

<sup>2</sup> Hansard 6, cols. 2584-5, 10 September.  
<sup>3</sup> Hansard 6 col. 2587, 10 September.  
<sup>4</sup> *Star.*, 19 September.  
<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 23 September.  
<sup>6</sup> *Star.*, 27 September.  
<sup>7</sup> *Rand Daily Mail*, 1 October.

sisted of seeing the name of Portugal beside those of the countries which persist in imposing inhuman and anachronistic racial discrimination through minority hegemony."<sup>8</sup>

In October the Security Council began to hear submissions in connection with the Republic's status at the UN. On the eve of the S.A. ambassador's address to the Security Council, the Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster, delivered what was widely recognised as a major policy statement in the Senate. Mr. Vorster's speech was attended by no fewer than eight Cabinet Ministers, the Leader of the Opposition, a large number of M.P.s and members of the diplomatic corps. Much of the essence of this speech was conveyed to the Security Council on the following day—24 October. Among the major points made by Mr. Vorster were: Southern Africa was at the crossroads and had to choose between peace or escalating conflict; S.A. was prepared to do all in her power to promote order and stability in Africa through technical and monetary assistance in Africa; the Republic's attitude remained that of non-intervention in the affairs of others and she would sign non-aggression pacts with any African country; and the will to normalise relations in Southern Africa was there in spite of stumbling blocks and problems. Mr. Vorster went on to say of Mozambique that order had to be restored as soon as possible and sources of income had to be protected. It was of the greatest economic interest to Mozambique and Southern Africa that the rail links and harbours of Nacala, Beira and Lourenço Marques remain open for South Africa, Zambia, Malawi and Rhodesia. It was also of great importance that the Mozambique labour agreements be maintained and that power from Cabora Bassa reached S.A. These were sources of revenue for Mozambique and he hoped her leaders would see things in the same light.

On Rhodesia, Mr. Vorster said that it was unfortunate that recent attempts by Mr. Ian Smith to find a solution appeared to have failed. Suggestions that S.A. had been holding the Rhodesian Government back were untrue. Mr. Vorster believed: "It is in the interests of all parties to find a solution." With goodwill the matter could be settled and an honourable solution could be found.

In the case of South West Africa, the Republic would not withdraw suddenly. The only solution to the territory's problems was for the people concerned to decide things for themselves.

Conflict in Southern Africa had to be avoided. In the prevailing circumstances it would not be unfitting if Southern Africa set up its own United Nations to encourage peace, progress and development.

In an hour-long speech to the Security Council, the Republic's ambassador, Mr. R. F. Botha, said that S.A. did have discriminatory laws and practices and unsavoury and reprehensible incidents between Blacks and Whites did occur. However, the S.A. Government did not condone discrimination purely on the grounds of race

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 9 October.

or colour. The situation in the Republic was changing and, moreover, in a peaceful and orderly way. Mr. Botha strongly opposed S.A.'s expulsion from the UN saying: "We have not waged war against Black Africa or against anyone. We were, in fact, the first African nationalists. Black Africans need not conduct a freedom struggle against my government. Being an African country, we understand African aspirations. We have stolen land from nobody. We have conquered no people. We threaten no one. We have absolutely no designs of aggrandisement."

Mr. Vorster's statement was welcomed by the Zambian President, Dr. Kenneth Kaunda.<sup>9</sup> However, Kenya, Mauritania and Cameroon, the three African members of the Security Council, moved a resolution calling for S.A.'s "immediate expulsion" from the UN. This resolution came to the vote in the Security Council on 30 October and was passed by ten votes to three, with Austria and Costa Rica abstaining. Apart from the three African States, Australia, Russia, Byelorussia, China, Indonesia, Iraq and Peru supported the motion. Subsequently the U.S., Britain and France vetoed the resolution in the first triple veto in UN history.<sup>10</sup>

About two weeks later, however, the General Assembly resolved, by 91 votes to 22 with 19 abstentions, to suspend S.A. from its proceedings for the current year's session. The S.A. Government then decided to withhold payment of S.A.'s annual contribution, which amounted to about R660 000, on the ground that the suspension had been illegal. The S.A. Ambassador was recalled to the Republic for consultation.

#### NATO

In January the General Secretary of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, Dr. Luns, told the S.A. Progressive Party leader, Mr. Colin Eglin, that it was politically impossible for NATO to have closer relations with S.A. in the foreseeable future.<sup>1</sup>

A report produced by the Institute for the Study of Conflict maintained that Russian and Chinese support for guerrilla movements in Africa meant that any victories for revolutionary movements "would produce regimes indebted either to the Soviet Union or to China, or both . . . Any such outcome of Africa's guerrilla wars, or to the struggle for power in various countries, would threaten all Western interests, and not least the security of the Cape oil route." The report concluded that it was essential that tanker traffic on the Cape route "should not be impeded by extraneous factors such as conflict in the Gulf or by interference with the tankers on their way to their destinations."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Rand Daily Mail*, 21, 24-26 October, *Star*, 25 October, *Sunday Times*, 27 October.

<sup>2</sup> *Rand Daily Mail*, 31 October.

<sup>3</sup> *Star*, 22 January.

<sup>4</sup> *Natal Mercury*, 9 March.

It was alleged that NATO strategists were hastening a comprehensive study into the security of sea transport in the Indian Ocean, especially around the Cape. The strategic study, so it was said, did not involve any commitment for either the alliance as a whole or for any individual country to involve itself outside the NATO area. Apparently, although NATO's military men viewed the possibility of Soviet bids for shore bases in Southern Africa with concern, NATO as a command, given its existing charter, would be powerless to intervene.<sup>1</sup>

The visits of squadrons of the British, French and U.S. navies to Simonstown are separately recorded in this section.

#### INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND

In October South Africa lost its representation on the boards of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank and was automatically excluded from the new Interim Committee on World Monetary Fund. She nevertheless remains a member of both the IMF and the World Bank.<sup>4</sup>

#### WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

Exchanges between the S.A. authorities and the World Council of Churches became increasingly hostile, thus subjecting the S.A. Council of Churches to considerable strain. The Cape Town presbytery of the Presbyterian Church, for example, called for withdrawal from the WCC, while on the other hand the newly-elected Archbishop of Cape Town, the Rt. Rev. Bill Burnett, said that there was no likelihood of the Anglican Church withdrawing from the WCC.<sup>1</sup> The General Secretary of the S.A. Council of Churches, Mr. John Rees, in supporting continued contact said that in four years the WCC had given something like R280 000 to guerrilla movements while over a period of ten years it had contributed something like R10 million to church work in the Republic. He said that attacks on the S.A.C.C. by the S.A. Broadcasting Corporation suggesting that it was both unrepresentative and un-South African were "completely unwarranted . . . a sly and sinister attempt to divide the rank and file membership of the churches from their own leadership". Mr. Rees said that the S.A.C.C. continued to state its belief that the WCC action in giving aid to guerrilla movements implicitly supported violence. The S.A.C.C. was more convinced than ever that dialogue with the WCC should be maintained.<sup>2</sup> (See the relevant chapter of this *Survey* for further comment.)

In October the S.A. Government refused to grant a visa to Dr. A. H. van den Heuvel, Secretary-General of the Netherlands

<sup>1</sup> *Star*, 15 October.  
<sup>2</sup> *Star*, 20 October.  
<sup>3</sup> *Star*, 19 April and 1 May.  
<sup>4</sup> *Dimension*, May 1974.

Reformed Church. The Minister of the Interior, Dr. Connie Mulder, issued the following statement in this connection:

"After very careful consideration and after having consulted with the Prime Minister, the visa application of Dr. A. H. van den Heuvel has been refused due to utterances he has made in the past, his motives, his intimate involvement with the World Council of Churches in the past, his current endorsement of the aims of the World Council of Churches, his proposed visit to the South African Council of Churches at the invitation of this council, and due to other information which for understandable reasons I do not wish to divulge at present."<sup>3</sup>

A 72-man delegation from S.A. attended the first assembly of the International Congress on World Evangelisation held in Geneva in July. Some people see the new organisation as an attempt by conservatives to set up a rival to the WCC. There was apparently a serious division of opinion between Black and White S.A. delegates on the provision of separate facilities at the conference.<sup>4</sup>

#### OTHER INTERNATIONAL BODIES

The Co-ordinating Council for the Professional Association of Social Workers in S.A. was allowed to continue its membership of the International Federation of Social Workers at a conference held in Nairobi in July. A condition that the S.A. co-ordinating council regard itself as a step towards a multi-racial national association was imposed.<sup>5</sup>

A delegation from S.A. attended an International Development Conference held at Abidjan, Ivory Coast, in August. Delegates felt that while they had been hospitably received on a personal level, S.A. had been treated as irrelevant.<sup>6</sup>

An international conference on water problems jointly organised by the World Meteorological Organisation and the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation in Paris in September voted by 45 to 18 to exclude S.A. from its meeting.<sup>7</sup>

#### AFRICA

##### General

South African exports to African countries rose by 13 per cent to R344 200 000 in 1973, while her imports from Africa rose by 25 per cent to R190 400 000, giving her a favourable trade balance of R153 800 000.<sup>1</sup>

At the African-American "dialogue" held in Addis Ababa in December 1973, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi put forward the South African Black case for relief from the Arab oil blockade but was

<sup>1</sup> *Rand Daily Mail*, 11 October.  
<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 23, 24 and 26 July; *Women's Bulletin*, 23/74, 22 July.  
<sup>3</sup> *Star*, 24 July.  
<sup>4</sup> *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 August; *Star*, 22 August; *Rapport*, 25 August.  
<sup>5</sup> *Star*, 1 September.  
<sup>6</sup> *Commerce and Industry*, August 1974, p. 182.

## EMPLOYMENT

### THE ECONOMIC SITUATION

In its annual economic report for the year ended June 1974 the S.A. Reserve Bank stated that the gross domestic product at current prices increased by 22 per cent, compared with 16 per cent in 1972/73.<sup>1</sup> At constant prices, however, the growth rate increased by about 5 per cent compared with 4 per cent the previous year. On the other hand, the *real* gross national product increased at a rate of 10 per cent compared with 6 per cent during the previous year, largely as a result of the terms of trade moving in South Africa's favour. The Reserve Bank went on to say that: "Indications are that the real growth rate for the calendar year 1974 will be one of the highest rates achieved in South Africa in the post-war period" (possibly to a level of 7 per cent). The higher rate of increase in 1973/74 was associated with substantial increases in the remuneration of employees and the operating surplus of the mining, manufacturing and commercial sectors.

Aggregate domestic demand increased at a rate of 25 per cent at current prices or 12 per cent at constant prices, these rates being substantially higher than those for previous years. All the main components of total monetary demand contributed to these high rates of increase and the Reserve Bank commented that "the increase in real domestic expenditure has been one of the major factors responsible for the highly satisfactory growth performance, particularly that of the non-agricultural sectors of the economy".

On the labour front, the Reserve Bank reported that the high rate of increase in economic activity had resulted in a further increase of 3 per cent in non-agricultural employment in the nine months ended 31 March 1974. Unemployment of White, Coloured and Asian workers which had stood at 10 531 in June 1973 declined to 7 995 in June 1974. This represented less than 0,5 per cent of those people actually employed.

A deficit of R241 million in the balance of payments on current account was recorded in 1973/74 compared with a surplus of R200 million during the previous year—a change to be expected in a period of cyclical upswing in the economy. The overall balance of payments, as measured by changes in the country's gold and other foreign reserves, changed from a surplus of R503 million in 1972/73 to a deficit of R361 million during 1973/74, brought about by a deficit on both the current and capital accounts. Normally, in an economic upswing the current account of South Africa's balance of payments is in deficit while the capital account

<sup>1</sup> The gross domestic product at market prices was provisionally valued at R15 657 million in the calendar year 1972 and R18 694 million in 1973 (S.A. Reserve Bank *Quarterly Bulletin*, June 1974).

usually has a surplus which enables the economy to grow at a faster rate than would have been possible if it had to rely exclusively on its own financial resources. In 1973/74 the marked growth in the non-agricultural sectors resulted in the expected increase in the demand for imported goods that exceeded the increase in the value of exports attributable to rises in the prices of gold and export commodities, but the usual increase in the net inflow of capital did not materialise. The sharp rise in interest rates in other countries and changes in the exchange rate of the rand, induced an outflow of short-term private capital. Because of these unfavourable developments, the authorities pursued monetary and exchange rate policies directed at restraining the outflow of capital and at promoting, as far as possible, further rapid economic growth.

Bank rate was increased from 5,5 to 6,5 per cent on 14 January 1974, to 7,5 per cent on 1 June and to 8 per cent on 14 August. Maximum deposit interest rates, as laid down by the interest rate control regulations, were also revised on 14 January and 1 June, resulting in a maximum of 10 per cent on deposits with an original maturity of 24 months or longer. The prime overdraft rate of the commercial banks was lowered from 8 to 7,5 per cent on 16 July 1973, and subsequently raised to 8 per cent on 15 November 1973, 9 per cent on 1 February 1974, and 10 per cent on 1 June. On 1 August the lowest overdraft rate actually charged to the banks' clients was increased to 11 per cent, although the prime overdraft rate itself remained unchanged at 10 per cent. On 14 August the Reserve Bank not only increased Bank rate to 8 per cent but also raised the yield quoted on government stock by 0,5 per cent, resulting in a rate of 7 per cent for short-term stock and 9,75 per cent for long-term stock. Interest rate control on deposits of more than R250 000 per individual depositor was also abolished.

Following the increase in Bank rate, the commercial banks increased their prime overdraft rate to 10,5 per cent effective from 16 August.

In his budget speech on 14 August, the Minister of Finance announced the substitution of a maximum finance charge of 14 per cent for the previous maximum charge of 12 per cent, as laid down by the Limitation and Disclosure of Finance Charges Act, on all money loans exceeding R400. Interest rates and finance charges were increased again in October.<sup>2</sup>

### FOREIGN INVESTMENT IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMY

#### General

Some opinion and comment on this question are briefly recorded on pages 173—4 of the 1971 issue, 218—230 of the 1972 issue, and 183—196 of the 1973 issue of this *Survey*.

<sup>2</sup> *Rand Daily Mail*, 24 October.